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THE
HISTORY
OF
CHICHESTER.

CHICHESTER.

THE
History of Chichester;

INTERSPERSED WITH

Various Notes and Observations

ON THE

EARLY and PRESENT STATE of the CITY,

The most Remarkable Places in its Vicinity,

And the COUNTY of SUSSEX in GENERAL:

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

Containing the CHARTERS of the CITY, at three different Times;

ALSO AN

Account of all the Parishes in the County,

THEIR NAMES, PATRONAGE, APPROPRIATIONS, VALUE IN THE
KING'S BOOKS, FIRST-FRUITS, &c.

DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION,

To *WILLIAM HAYLEY, Esqr.*

"Non de Villis, domibusque alienis;

—Sed quod magis ad nos

Pertinet, et nescire malum est, agitamus."—HORACE.

"Art must to other works a lustre lend,
But History pleases, howsoe'er 'tis penn'd."

HAYLEY's Essay on Hist. p. 72.

By *ALEXANDER HAY, A. M.*

Vicar of Wisborough-Green, and Chaplain of St. Mary's Chapel in this City.

Chichester :

Printed and sold, by J. Seagrave ; the Booksellers in the County,
and by Longman and Co. Paternoster-Row, London.

1804.



DAVID
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1804

To WILLIAM HAYLEY, Esqr.

SIR,

As several places of less note than Chichester, and whose antiquity is but of yesterday in comparison, have long ago had their histories laid before the public ; and some of them by men of learning, I have often wondered that the city of your nativity, a place of respectable rank among the sees and corporations of the kingdom ; whose antiquity the acutest investigator cannot perfectly penetrate, has never engaged the attention, and employed the labour of some person of literary eminence, to favour the public with its annals, and the vicissitudes of fortune which have happened to it at different times. The subject is of sufficient importance, and the theme respectable enough, to justify the undertaking, and if duly treated, to confer celebrity even on a Stowe or a Dugdale.

I shall

DEDICATION.

I shall not trouble you, Sir, with any apology for my undertaking so arduous a task, a work of so great difficulty. I had for many years made enquiries on the subject, prompted thereto purely by private curiosity. The notes and memorandums I had made in consequence, I viewed with the partiality (perhaps the BLIND partiality) of a parent; and concluded that if they could be ushered into light under the shadow of your name, they would meet with a favourable reception from the public. As you granted that permission, I have accordingly made the experiment, and trust that whatever credit or discredit may accrue to me, the public will give you the praise due to a generous action. Superior to the sordid reasoning of a contracted mind, you extended your protection to the helpless offspring of an unprotected parent, to say the least of it, and freely gave the passport of your name to a work whose professed object was to preserve many interesting particulars relating to a city of long
established

DEDICATION.

established eminence, naturally dear to you, as the scene of your childhood and youth ; and more so as the sacred depository of the ashes of your ancestors.

If on the perusal you find that I have thrown some light on the subject, I shall not think my labour misapplied : and should be highly gratified if in your estimation the merits of my essay overbalance its imperfections.

That you may long live to delight and instruct mankind, is the sincere wish of

Sir,

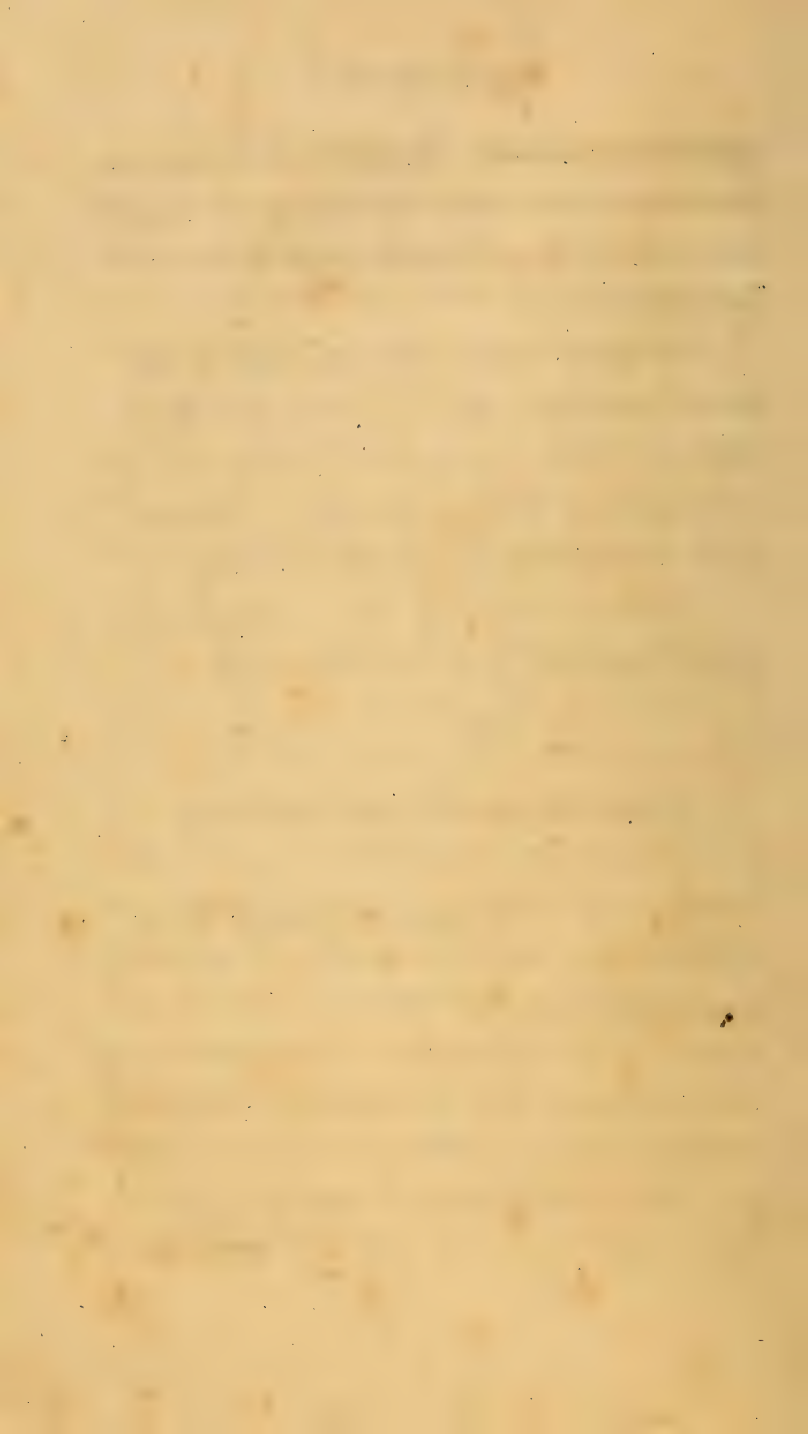
Your obliged and obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAY.

Chester, Sept. 1804.



PREFACE.



PREFACE.

ABOUT twenty years ago I wrote a small pamphlet called “*The Chichester Guide*,” which by the favour of the public has undergone several impressions. On perusing it some time past I was concerned to find that in several instances the dates were not so correct as I wished them to be: and having referred to the authorities I had at first consulted, and others, I discovered the omission of many particulars, which might have been mentioned with propriety and advantage. After collecting some observations, and arranging them, I found that they could not be contained in a common sized pamphlet, much less in the small publication mentioned. This circumstance first suggested to me the idea of raising from that imperfect performance, and more extensive sources of information, an history of the city from its foundation to the present time.—When a favourite object engages the attention, we are
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apt to overlook the difficulties that stand, and the obstructions that may be thrown in our way. I knew the subject was of consequence enough to engage the attention of the public, if treated in a tolerable manner. I flattered myself that the information I had collected in the course of several years, was of some importance; and I was unwilling that it should be entirely lost. I was aware that in the fulfilling such an undertaking, some difficulties would arise: nor did I expect they would be inconsiderable either in their nature or their number: and experience has convinced me that I was not mistaken. I have met with obstacles where I had no reason to look for any.

*In the former part of the time, that which preceded the coming of the Romans into Britain, Chichester, like every other part of the island, was hid in darkness, which even their coming did not compleatly dispel. After that period the history of the Britons is involved in that of their conquerors—that of any particular place can be collected only by scraps and fragments from the general account of the historian. This was the case during all the time of the Saxons; and long after: for several centuries elapsed after the Norman Conquest ere the light of history was strong
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and diffusive enough to throw its beams on detached objects.

It would, without doubt, have been more acceptable to the public, and therefore more agreeable to me, could I have given a compleat and satisfactory description of the city, and traced the annals of the principal inhabitants thereof in every period: but that the candid and intelligent reader will see was impossible. The memory of private men in general, does not survive their personal existence more than two or three generations—the hand of time soon obliterates the actions even of public characters, or they are but faintly remembered—and hardly can fame herself preserve those who were dear to her from the dismal gulf of oblivion. In this state of things it appeared to me that the most effectual way to convey to the reader the justest idea that could be obtained, both of the city and county, would be to lay before him the state of society and religion, and the progress of arts and sciences, in England at that time, thus snatching a ray from general history to illuminate the particular objects I had in view; mixed with as much local history as could be procured, at least as I could collect. If I have done this in a degree tolerably accurate, and
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thereby enabled my readers to form a judgment, not greatly distant from the truth, of this antient metropolis of the South-Saxons, &c. during the dark ages, I have fulfilled my own honest intentions. I have done something, however inadequate to my wishes, towards elucidating the history of a place, which in antiquity is hardly inferior to any in the kingdom—in its duration has experienced many vicissitudes of fortune, and more than once suffered the severest storms of fate.

As the shades of night retired, and the light of historical information began to dawn here, I flattered myself that I should be able to avail myself of that advantage: but, either for the reason mentioned before, or the imperfection of my knowledge in antiquity, found myself obliged to lean principally on general history, till I came within a century and a half of the present time.

The style in the following pages, I am sensible, is far from being highly ornamented. I never approved of flowery periods in this kind of writing; and now, on the verge of seventy years of age, am not more fond of them. I hope I may, without impropriety, plead*
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* The account of the Bishops is copied from the Mag. Britan.

my many constant avocations in extenuation of some imperfections: I mean my professional duty, both morning and afternoon, at the chapel of the blessed Mary in this city; and the very irksome and labourous employment of teaching at a school, which my circumstances have rendered, and still render necessary.

Throughout the whole truth has been my inva-riable object. Circumstances too many to be mentioned, and uninteresting to the public, have preserved my opinion from being warped by partiality, and drawing too flattering a representation of the object before me—if I have at all deviated from the truth, it was done through an error of judgment, and not through partiality; and far less from the despicable motive of lavishing adulation on any, either individually or collectively.

Whatever errors or imperfections may belong to the undertaking, it is the result of many years occasional enquiry, made before I had any fixt intention of laying my poor gleanings before the public; who will finally determine on the merits or demerits of the work, uninfluenced by any indirect commendations of mine, on the one hand; or illiberal and unmanly attacks on the other, if any such should be made: as I have not
resorted

resorted to the former, I will trust the justice of the public that the latter shall not operate to my prejudice. To acquire the approbation of the public in general, and particularly of those whose local history I have undertaken to illustrate, would undoubtedly be agreeable. I may fail to obtain that, but I shall enjoy the consolation of knowing that I have done what I fairly could to deserve it.



was laid before they came hither, and then fully inhabited.*

If the Britons had been duly united, when the Romans invaded the island, Cæsar's laurels would have withered on his brow long before that people had reached their ultima thulè. Had the chieftains or kings, dropping or suspending their quarrels and animosities, come forward with their clients and vassals, in support of their common interest, the defence of the country, no force that the Romans could have sent against them, could have brought them into subjection; for even as matters stood with them, though they were miserably divided, their invaders did not look upon Cæsar's expedition

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against

* The inscription is—"Neptuno et Minervæ templum, pro salute domus divinæ, ex auctoritate Cogidubni regis legati Tiberii Claudii Augusti in Britannia. Collegium Fabrorum, et qui in eo e sacris vel honorati sunt, de suo dedicaverunt; donante aream Pudente Pudentini filio."

IN ENGLISH.

The temple of Neptune and Minerva—erected for the health and preservation of the imperial family by the authority of king Cogidubnus, the lieutenant of Tiberius Claudius Augustus in Britain.—The company of artificers, with those who were ambitious of the honour of supplying materials, defrayed the expence.—Pudens, the son of Pudentinus, gave the ground.

against them a conquest. Tacitus says, he did not conquer Britain, but only shewed it to the Romans; and Horace, the Roman courtier, in the time of Augustus, when Rome was in the zenith of her power, calls them, "*invictos Britannes*," the unconquered Britons.—And Lucan scruples not to say, "*territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis*,"—he ran in a fright from the Britons against whom he had gone with such mighty preparations of war.

Vespasian was the first Roman who set foot in a hostile manner in that part of Britain called Sussex. This he did A. D. 47. His commission was to reduce the maritime parts of the country: which he effected without much difficulty, as they were more inclinable to commerce than war, and the force wherewith he was attended rendered all opposition hopeless. The temple of Neptune and Minerva, mentioned above, was built under his auspices. Claudius, on his return to Rome had not only a land but also a naval triumph decreed him, for having conquered the sea—i. e. for having crossed it in safety from Gaul to Britain. For which reason it was, no doubt, that the temple in Chichester was dedicated to Neptune.

The last expedition of Cæsar against Britain was fifty-four years before Christ—that of Plautius was undertaken A. D. 46, as mentioned before. The intervening period was doubtless time sufficient for the Britons to have made this very obvious remark, that the advantages which Cæsar had gained over them, were attributable solely to their divisions, and want of unanimity. They did not however make that inference: or if they did, the inveterate feuds of their princes predominated over the love of their country, and their desire of independence. For when Plautius came among them, he found them at as great variance among themselves as they were when Cæsar left them: and it was not the business of the Romans to allay, but to aggravate these dissensions.

To describe the manners, and delineate the character of the people of this country at this time, during the reign of Claudius, would be a work of conjecture rather than of historical information. If we suppose that some of them went to Rome, and learned the manners and customs of the imperial city; that many of them went into the army, and imbibed new habits and ideas; and that far the greater part

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of them remained at home, fixed to their native soil and primitive rudeness, we must conclude that they formed a very heterogeneous people, strongly tinctured with vice, and therefore far removed from happiness. Cæsar describes the Britons as a warlike people, who prized their liberty and independence above life itself. This character of them was true, to a certain degree, but perhaps not to so high a degree as he has represented it. Without meaning in the least to impeach the veracity of Cæsar, which indeed is impregnable, still we may be allowed to think, that (for a very obvious reason) he has represented the martial courage and power, both of the Gauls and Britons, in his Commentaries, in the fullest and fairest point of view. But however that may be, we cannot avoid supposing, that the checks which the Britons sustained, and the defeats they suffered from inferior numbers of their invaders, in great measure depressed their spirits, broke the ardour of their courage, and damped the flame of liberty which before glowed in their breasts; for when Plautius was sent against them, he was suffered to land and march into the heart of the country without opposition. It is true Caractacus, prince of
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the Brigantes, Boadicea, the brave but unfortunate queen of the Iceni, and Galgacus the Caledonian, are honourable instances that the antient spirit of independence, was not wholly extinct in the country: but they form singular, and almost solitary instances of virtue and patriotism among the chief men: and had the national character, at that time accorded with the courage, and undaunted perseverance of these worthy persons, whose names are still dear to fame, the expedition of Claudius to Britain, would have covered him with disgrace instead of procuring him a triumph. I am not ignorant that Tacitus more than indirectly says, that the Britons were attached to the independence of their country; but he relates such circumstances concerning them as plainly prove the reverse. When Agricola attacked and subdued Mona, (the isle of Anglesea) he informs us that he had in his army ten thousand British soldiers, chiefly Belgians; by whose assistance it was that he was enabled to subdue the place: and that in his wars against the Caledonians, the army of Galgacus, in the last decisive battle was routed, and the country ravaged and depopulated in the most inhuman manner, by the same auxiliaries. The same may be said

of all the wars which the Roman generals, Plautius, Ostorius, Agricola, and others, waged against the independence of this country; the number of the Roman soldiers bore but a very small proportion to the whole, and often one third of what was called the Roman army consisted of British auxiliaries.

Several of our English historians also, in treating of the affairs of this period, inform us that both the Celtic and Belgian inhabitants were attached to freedom, and steady votaries of independence. But we are instructed by Tacitus, that many of the British chiefs waited on Plautius on his landing, and (instead of opposing his march) solicited the friendship of the Romans, promising to pay the annual tribute that Cæsar had formerly assessed the district with: no proof of their magnanimity or independent spirit. And the vast number of subsidiary troops raised from the Belgians, and other tribes, during the war in Britain, until the whole island was subdued, will convince any unprejudiced person that their love of freedom was not so great as these historians have alledged.

Camden informs us that the Cogidubnus, mentioned in the inscription, was king of the Regni; that is, all Sussex, part of Surry, and Hampshire—

that

that he resided in the city, now called Chichester, and that he was called a friend and ally of the Roman people. From whence, as well as from other circumstances, we may surely infer that he was tributary to the court of Rome, and owned obedience to the emperor. Besides, the inhabitants of this part of the island, (the last emigrants of the Belgæ) were a trading people, and could not maintain foreign commerce without the support, and far less in opposition to the Romans. We may therefore well conclude, that this city, and the whole district, of which it was the capital, continued in the hands of that people, till their final departure from Britain, A. D. 446.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROMANS LEAVE BRITAIN—THE BRITONS HARRASSED BY
THE SCOTS AND PICTS—CHOOSE VORTIGERN FOR THEIR
LEADER—WHO INVITES THE SAXONS TO COME TO THEIR
AID—COMING OF THAT PEOPLE INTO KENT.

AT that time, the Romans were greatly distressed by most dreadful incursions of Huns, and other barbarians, who broke in upon the empire. Attila, who stiled himself, not improperly, “*The scourge of God, and the terror of man!*” after laying waste, and utterly depopulating Thrace, Macedonia, and the fine countries of Greece, the nurse of science, and the favourite seat of the muses, attacked the western empire, and entered Gaul, with an army of seven hundred thousand men. Here he met with opposition, and a check at the battle of Châlons; on which he turned his arms against Lombardy, took and destroyed Aquileia, and several other places of importance, killing the inhabitants, and demolishing the houses.

houses. From the Alps, to within a few miles of the imperial city, all was terror and dismay, flight, burning, carnage, and general desolation! Rome was saved from becoming the scene of his fury, plunder, and massacre, by a solemn embassy sent to him from the emperor Valentinian III. and the promise of an annual tribute to be paid to him; on which he consented to conclude a peace with them, or rather a truce, and returned loaded with spoil and *honour*, to his own country, beyond the Danube, now called Hungary, Transilvania, &c.—To defend Rome from the imminent and immense danger which threatened it, when Atilla was ravaging Macedon and Greece, the legionary troops were recalled from Britain, and with them those British soldiers who had served with them as auxiliaries. No sooner were these removed, than the Scots and Picts again invaded the country; the greatest part of which they over-run, marching as far as Lincoln, and marking their rout with carnage, and silent desolation! The Britons, in the extremity of their distress and despondency, immediately applied to the Roman emperor to send them succours to defend them from their merciless enemies—but as the Romans, at that time,

time, laboured under equal distress, their petition neither was, nor could be granted. From the desponding tenor of the letter, or rather supplication, which they sent to the emperor Valentinian III. we may learn the debasement of spirit to which they were sunk. Their letter was inscribed "The groans of Britain," and the contents of it were equally abject—"The barbarians (they said) drive us to the sea, and the sea throws us back on the barbarians; and we have only the wretched alternative of perishing either by the sword, or by the waves." But their supplication was in vain. The ravages committed on the continent, were equally atrocious and sanguinary, and far more extensive than those in Britain. In number, the Britons were at least double to that of their invaders: and if their courage had not been paralyzed, if their spirit had not been broken, and subdued by the state of slavery to which the Romans had reduced them, they would have been fully competent to their own defence, without invoking the aid of any other. From hence we may calculate the degree of degradation which slavery operates upon the minds of men; what depression of courage it induces, and how low in the scale of society

society it reduces men, even in their own estimation! The Scots were conquered as well as the Britons; but they were not, like them, subdued. They fell by the sword of the Romans and their auxiliaries; and those who escaped from the sword of the enemy, fled to their mountains and glens; though conquered disdaining to submit, and supporting themselves with the hopes of better days.

The time that the Romans had possession of Britain, was nearly five hundred years, if we count from the expedition of Julius Cæsar; but if, with more accuracy, we reckon from that of Claudius, it is only four hundred; during all which time, and especially the latter part of it, the Romans themselves were a very corrupt, and degenerate people; deeply sunk in every vice that can degrade and debase mankind, and destitute of every virtue to redeem their character as a people. Their own historians, though they talk in pompous terms of the Roman virtue, when they come to particulars disgust us with a recital of the most enormous vices: at the same time that they applied the term of barbarians to the surrounding nations of the earth, were themselves as deeply sunk in the barbarism of morals as

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any other. It cannot be supposed that the manners and morals of the Britons, their vassals, could remain pure and uncontaminated in the midst of so much depravity. It is true the Christian religion had been propagated and taught among them, more than two hundred years; and from the time of Constantine, (A. D. 311) was the prevailing religion of the state; And it is certain that where that divine system of ethics is taught, in its original purity, it must have an effect on the morals of those who embrace it; yet history bears irrefragable testimony that, even Christianity, all-powerful as it is, could not, at least did not, counterpoise the depravity of morals which prevailed in the Roman world, at the period last mentioned, nor (which is more to be lamented) preserve itself pure and uncontaminated from the general contagion.* Gildas, the British historian, who wrote at that time, in portraying the lineaments of his countrymen, has at the same time, transmitted to us the features of the original, from whence that character was drawn. "Evil was called good, and " good evil. To be lewd was thought honourable; " to

* Ammianus Marcellinus, Theodoret, Athanas. tom 1.
Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. History. Moshem.

“ to be virtuous, disgraceful. Being blind them-
 “ selves, they became haters of light ; and the mea-
 “ sure of their actions was what was most pleasing
 “ to their inclinations. All things are transacted
 “ contrary to the public welfare and safety ; not
 “ only of the laity, but also of the clergy ; and they
 “ who ought to be examples of virtue, often prove
 “ the ringleaders of vice !”

When the Romans quitted Britain, they left
 the miserable inhabitants like a body without a head :
 they had lost the animating and directing principle,
 which moved and regulated all their actions : for
 it is to be remarked that when they had reduced the
 people to silent and uncomplaining subjection, all
 the former authorities ceased, or rather were super-
 seded by their conquerors. Those of the Belgian
 inhabitants, we may suppose were the last to be
 wrested from them. But even those had long, very
 long, sunk under the stern rod of power. “ Driven
 “ to despair by the formidable power of the Caledo-
 “ nians, (says an English historian) and the refusal
 “ of assistance from the continent, the Britons knew
 “ not, for some time, in what manner to act : but
 “ at length they resolved to disclaim all connection
 “ with

“ with Rome, and to form themselves into an in-
 “ dependent state. They accordingly, several times,
 “ elected a king, and as often hurled him from the
 “ throne. The names of their monarchs are insig-
 “ nificant; their actions as sovereigns, immaterial
 “ and uncertain. They were elected, for some time
 “ adored, and then set aside. Affairs were now be-
 “ come desperate; and the Romans, who resided in
 “ Britain, being persuaded that all resistance against
 “ the Caledonians would be in vain, buried their
 “ treasures, and fled for safety to the continent.—
 “ The refusal of all assistance from Rome, threw the
 “ Britons into a state of absolute despair; instead of
 “ taking measures for repelling the invaders of their
 “ country, they fled for shelter to their woods and
 “ mountains, neglected the cultivation of their land,
 “ and for some time sought a livelihood from
 “ hunting.”

Among the number of their kings was Vorti-
 gern, who obtained his authority by murdering his
 predecessor, (A. D. 449) and though stained with
 every vice, for some time governed the degenerate
 Britons. This unwarlike leader, instead of rousing
 and animating the people to defend their country,
 which

which they were well able to have done, had they but had courage to attempt it, invited the Saxons, a ferocious people, inhabiting from the mouth of the Rhine to Jutland, to come into Britain, and defend the inhabitants from the ravages of the Scots and Picts.

The result of this pusileanimous invitation is well known. In the year 450, the Saxons, to the number of sixteen hundred, under the conduct of two of their chiefs, Hengist and Horsa, arrived in Britain, and had the isle of Thanet appointed them for their station. With the assistance of this handful of men, Vortigern obtained an easy victory over the undisciplined Caledonians, recovered the booty they had taken, and forced them to fly to their own country. This gave the Saxons a very mean opinion of the Britons, and shewed them their own superiority. Therefore on various occasions they invited over a great many more of their countrymen, Saxons, Jules, and Angles; who came with their wives and families—a convincing proof that they did not intend to leave a country where they had got so firm a footing. In 451 or 452, Vortigern married Rowenna, the daughter of Hengist; a very inauspicious

cious circumstance for the Britons. To Hengist, Vortigern ceded and gave up the whole county of Kent, for his possession ; who continued to bring over many more of his countrymen, and at length purposely sought to bring on a quarrel with the Britons, that he might seize upon the whole, and force the inhabitants to relinquish the possession of a country they were unable to defend, and, in his opinion, therefore unworthy to enjoy. This he, in a few years, effected : but not so easily as at first he had reason to expect. Despair inspired a blind impetuous courage ; and the Britons, in the course of an unequal contest, manifested, on several occasions, a degree of firmness and intrepidity that the Saxon leader by no means looked for. Some of the English historians maintain, that if the Saxons had not been powerfully supported by the Scots and Picts, and numerous hordes of their own countrymen, the Britons would either have cut them off, or forced them to return again. Upon this subject I cannot decide ; nor is it necessary. It is known that many thousand Saxons did migrate at this time, from their own country, and landed on the Kentish coast, and other parts of the island ; whether for the purpose
of

THE
HISTORY of CHICHESTER.

CHAPTER I.

THE SITUATION, EXTENT, AND BOUNDARIES OF THE CITY—
WHEN FOUNDED—THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS; THEIR
DESCENT—MANNERS, AND WAY OF LIVING.—THE COM-
ING OF THE ROMANS INTO BRITAIN—THE TIME WHEN
THEY CAME FIRST INTO SUSSEX, &c.

THE city of Chichester is situated in an healthy and pleasant plain, in the western part of the county of Sussex; seven miles from the borders of Hampshire, which bounds it on the west, seven or eight miles from the line of the coast on the south, ten from the river Arun on the east, and three or four from St. Roche's hill on the north—part of a range of hills, which reaches from the Arun to the county of Hants, or Southampton, and shelters the city and the whole plain where it lies, from the north-wind,

and the rigour of winter. The plain, reckoning from Arundel in the east, to Hampshire west, and from the sea to the foot of the hills, which bound it on the north and north-east, contains 160 or 170 square miles of land, in the highest state of productive cultivation, mostly arable and meadow, including a very small proportion of pasture land. All this tract is refreshed by the sea breezes, which tend very much both to fertilize the soil, and invigorate the air.—It has been remarked, that less snow falls here than in any other place of equal extent in England; occasioned by its being sheltered on the north and north-east by the hills, warmed from the south by the breezes from the sea; throughout the whole there is no stagnant water, and very little cold marshy ground; to which we may add that the soil is light, and dry; and regularly heated by a plentiful supply of the richest and most kindly manures. All these causes combine to render this spot a most eligible situation to reside on—the climate as mild as any in the kingdom, and as little subject to any sudden change of weather. It is said that the westerly winds prevail more than any other throughout England: in no place does this rule obtain more than

than here—occasioned in great measure, by the direction of the tides in its neighbourhood, which on the main flow uniformly from the west or southwest. The situation of the city is in 50 deg. 52 min. north lat. and 42 min. west long. in space, or 2 min. 48 sec. in time, from the meridian of London—from which it is distant 61 miles.

The substratum, or ground, on which the city stands, is an hard gravel of irregular depth, the layer under which is a loose gravel, mixt with a coarse sand, and in some places containing many shells like those on the sea beach. No place enjoys better water, nor in greater abundance. The wells are of a moderate depth; many of them not more than three or four feet. The water pure, and almost as soft as river water. Besides which, the inhabitants are supplied with excellent spring water, brought by pipes from the spring on the Broile, not more than half a mile from the north-gate. A large reservoir of this water is kept close by the conduit, between the cross and the conduit, in the south-street. This advantage of having good water the inhabitants cannot easily rate too high. In point of health, the difference between good and indifferent water is very

great. As an article of culinary use the advantage of good water is almost incalculable. As a beverage, or a component part in every thing we drink, it is not less valuable. In all nephritic complaints, the use of bad water, such as is impregnated with much calcareous matter, or adulterated air, is highly injurious; as on the other hand, good water is equally salutary, and in some degree medicinal.

The city is built on a small eminence, or rising ground, the cross being nearly, but not altogether, on the highest ground. The length of the north-street is 1320 feet, or 80 perches—the south-street $907\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or 55 perches—the east-street $1105\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or 67 perches, and the west-street the same measurement. The circumference of the whole within the walls being $6963\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or 422 perches, of course it stands upon between 100 and 101 acres, statute measure —The greater part of the parish of St. Pancrass, in the east, and the whole of that of St. Bartholomew in the west, is without the walls.

At this great distance of time, it is impossible to ascertain the exact period when the city was first built. Before the coming of the Romans to this island,

island, the inhabitants had no records ; nor for many centuries after is any light thrown upon the affairs of Britain, but what is derived from foreign historians, chiefly Roman. It is the general opinion of historians, that this country was first peopled from the continent of Europe, namely from that part of France then called Gaul, which is opposite to the south-eastern coast of England ; and it is generally supposed that the Celtæ were the first people who migrated hither ; at what particular period it is not agreed. Some historians say eighteen hundred years before the christian æra ; others not so high. But it is of no consequence for any useful purpose, to determine at what particular time a race of rude, uncivilized adventurers chose to fix their habitation in this island, which was then, and many centuries after, both in appearance, in soil, and even in climate, a very different place from what it is now.

The generality of writers evince a strange propensity to trace the origin of the people, whose annals they have undertaken to transmit to posterity, to the remotest ages of antiquity. But antiquity of descent can confer no real honour on any nation. The inhabitants of North America are not a less re-

spectable people than the Bedoins of Egypt, or the Arabs of Zara in Africa. The Celtæ, who are with much probability, said to have been the first inhabitants of Britain, were descendants of Acmon, the son of Japhet, as the Belgæ were of Gomer, likewise son of Japhet, and both grandsons of Noah. It is, I think, no improbable conjecture (for I have no authority) that the first migration to Britain happened about the year of the world 2500, or something more than eight hundred years after the flood; about the time that the Israelites quitted the land of Egypt; nearly three hundred years before the siege of Troy; seven hundred and forty-six before the foundation of Rome, and seven hundred and twenty-two before the first Olympiad.

When the Romans first invaded this country, they found it fully inhabited: and, according to the Scottish and Irish historians, the population of both these nations was as high as the manner of subsisting themselves would bear. The principal part of their subsistence they derived from the chase. Cæsar indeed, in his account of his expedition, relates that he sent out several parties to forage; from whence it would appear, that they had some corn; which
must

must have been principally rye and barley; and perhaps some siligo, a species of wheat of an inferior kind; and that in no great quantity. Neither history, nor the analogy of reasoning, will bear us out in supposing that their agriculture was not most contemptible. According to the account which Cæsar has left us of the Britons, when he came hither (and his authority cannot be disputed) we must conclude that their knowledge of the arts was the least that can be conceived, and in the sciences just nothing. They wore no cloathing, but painted their naked bodies with woad, (*vitro*) both to defend themselves from the cold, and give them a terrible appearance in battle. He says they (the Belgæ) had many houses or huts, which he calls *ædificia*, nearly the same as in Gaul; and these, the Roman historians inform us, were built of earth, and covered with turf. No other evidence than the authority of Cæsar is wanted to convince us of the degraded state of society, in which the inhabitants of this country then lived. It is unnecessary to compleat the description of the national character at such a period. When they were not civilized enough to feel the propriety of cloathing their bodies, it would be useless to

look for any refinement of sentiment among them, any rational love of their country, or any domestic felicity. Their manners were as rude as the waves that surrounded them, and their minds as uncultivated as the forests in which they ranged. The seeds of war and blood-shedding they brought along with them from the continent; they were deeply interwoven in their political institutions; if it be not improper to call their barbarous usages by that denomination. Both the Celtæ and the Belgæ, from whom the Britons descended, consisted of three different orders of men; the principes, (chieftains) the equites, (gentlemen) who held of the former, and owed them fealty and service, and the servi, literally servants; but more frequently among the Roman writers, meaning bond-servants, or slaves. Their clans, or chieftains, maintained perpetual wars with one another; and no wonder, war, and nothing else, was reckoned honourable among them. The more ears of slaughtered enemies a man could show, so much the more was he esteemed. These sentiments were hereditary among them; they brought them with them; they were cultivated with fostering hand by the leaders, and great men; and they
operated

operated powerfully on the minds and manners of a rude and barbarous people; and prevented them, through many revolving ages, from listening to the silent voice of nature within them, and turning their attention to the endearing blandishments of peace. While we execrate the savage dispositions, and sanguinary practices of these men, let us reflect that they were the unhappy sons of unhappy fathers, unhappy ancestors—monsters by the necessity of circumstances, more than in despite of their reason. While we reprobate the latter, we are induced to drop a tear over the hard fate of the former. Open and manly in their deeds of cruelty, each of them exposed his own life when he attacked that of his adversary. They fought in person, and not by deputies enticed or trepanned to risk their lives, and shed their blood in a cause in which they were not interested.

While they remained in Germany, when any of them (the Celtæ and Belgæ) intended to migrate to any uninhabited or inhabited country, the chieftains summoned their clients, with all their dependents, to accompany them in their intended expedition. They elected one of their own body to be
their

their leader, and the conductor of the enterprize, investing him with supreme power, till the expedition should be finished, and no longer. The same method they adopted when their country, (or their own demesnes) was invaded by an enemy. These leaders, Cæsar and the Roman historians sometimes denominate kings, and sometimes princes (principes.) Their sovereignty resembled that of the Roman dictatorship—like that their power was absolute, temporary, and not permanent. Thus the Britons, when their country was invaded by the Romans, chose Cassivellaunus, and constituted him generalissimo of all their forces till the enemy should be driven from their coasts. So, in after times, they elected Vortigern to conduct the national force, and defend the country from the incursions of the Scots and Picts.

It is necessary to observe, that the two colonies by whom this island was first inhabited, though sprung from the same stem, were of very different manners and habits of life. The Celtæ or Cimbri, who made the first settlement, applying themselves to the pastoral system, in a course of years, perhaps, ages, surmounted their original ferocity, and lived
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in peace and happiness. While the Belgæ, a commercial people, betook themselves likewise to agriculture, such as it was, and retained in great measure, that propensity to war, which they brought along with them. The former of these inhabited the interior part of the country, and the latter the sea-coast, and parts adjoining.

By the historians above-mentioned, we are informed that the Britons traded with the Gauls; but we are not instructed in what that traffic consisted; nor is it easy to conjecture of what articles it was composed. But whatever the articles were, it is most probable that their commerce was only barter. Money they had none; instead of that they used iron rings, made to a certain standard. Of iron, before the coming of the Romans, they had very little, as we are informed by Cæsar; from which, and other circumstances, it appears very evident, that their agriculture was very imperfect, and far from extensive. In their wars they used darts and javelins; many of which, for want of iron, were shod with sharp flints, and some of them had their points burned and hardened in the fire: nor does it appear, from perusing the Roman historians, that any of the
 Britons

Britons were armed with swords, except a very few of their chiefs.

The interior part of the country was inhabited by the Celtæ, the original inhabitants, who made the first settlement in the island. They are said to have been, when the Romans came first into Britain, a quiet, peaceable people, occupied wholly in the care of their flocks and herds. Our historians say, (and the account seems probable) that in their first settlements on the coast, the Celtæ were succeeded by the Belgæ, who came likewise from Gaul: and being too numerous in their own country, and unable to subsist, came to Britain in great numbers, and either expelled the others from their habitation, or occupied the maritime parts along with them, and became one people.

It is probable that the foundation of Chichester was laid either by the Celtæ, or this mixt people, to defend themselves from the encroachments of succeeding emigrants; but, it is impossible to ascertain the time when this happened. That it was before the Romans invaded England we shall see by and by. But those collections of habitations which our historians have dignified with the name of cities, were

were no other than a number of huts built near one another, without order or regularity. A number of these huts surrounded with thick mounds of earth, covered with felled tress, and ditches of water on the outside, often of irregular depth, they have denominated fortified towns and cities. This description of their habitations and cities, I have given on the authority of Tacitus, and the superior testimony of Cæsar. Nor need we wonder that their edifices were no better. In most parts of Europe architecture was not studied, nor would the sate of society admit of it. Even in Attica, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians, by much the most polished people at that time in Europe, those who inhabited Diacri, took down their houses at the desire of Pericles, and erected them again within the walls of Athens, in order to avoid the ravages of the Lacedemonians, about 430 years before Christ.

It is plain, from the account which Cæsar gives of both his descents upon England, that he never set foot on that part now called Sussex. From Nennius, and other historians, it is evident that the place where he first landed could be no other than Dover; from hence he sailed with the tide to the northward,

northward, and landed again at Deal. From thence he pursued his rout by land, and crossed the Thames at the place now or lately call the isle of Dogs, near Greenwich, and proceeded still northward, till he came to the place now St. Albans. This was the residence of Cassivellaunus, the chosen leader of the Britons—a place strong, Cæsar says, both by nature and art. It was taken by assault, and the inhabitants, and others found therein, put to the sword—the city plundered, and the country for several miles round, ravaged and burned.—After which he returned again to Deal, by the same rout he had gone thither, and from this last place returned to the Continent. Though the yearly tribute, which the Britons promised to pay the Romans, was very irregularly paid, they did not return again to reduce them to obedience and subjection, till the reign of Claudius, who assumed the purple, A. D. 39 or 40, almost ninety years after Cæsar's first expedition. During this period, many of the principal people among the Britons went to Rome; the seat of empire; from whence, on their return, they brought with them the arts and sciences, known in Italy; and with them, the vices of a corrupt city, and more

corrupt

corrupt court. From the Romans, who first came among them, they learned the necessary use of cloathing, to defend their bodies from the cold; and we may conclude, that they also taught them a better method of agriculture than they had hitherto practised; and in a little time introduced into this country, that species of wheat, called *robus* (red wheat) almost the only kind that was then, and for many years, cultivated in Italy. From Pliny, it appears, that they (the Romans) were no strangers to the Sicilian or *Triticum* (the white) but preferred the *robus*, as being the most productive.

About the year 45 or 46 of the present æra, Claudius, the Roman emperor, sent Aulus Plautius, with a considerable armament into Britain, to reduce the refractory inhabitants to due subjection. Plautius defeated them in several engagements, partly by the superior discipline of the Romans, though then in its decline, but principally by means of the divisions which prevailed among the Britons. The next year Claudius followed his general; and stayed in Britain not more than fifteen or sixteen days, during which time he sent Flavius Vespasian, the second in command under Plautius, into the maritime parts of
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the country, to reduce the inhabitants to subjection. Vespasian fixed his head-quarters at the place now called Chichester. The inhabitants of the western parts of Sussex were called Regni: what the name of the city was, does not clearly appear. The scite of the Roman camp is plainly to be traced on the Broile near the city, to this day. The Roman general made Cogidubnus governor of the Regni, and honoured him with the title of king; and friend and ally of the Roman people. From one of the oldest inscriptions in England, which the workmen, in digging to lay the foundation of the council-chamber, dug up in 1731, it appears that a temple was built, on or near that scite, dedicated to Neptune and Minerva, in the reign of Claudius, the Roman emperor. The stone, with the inscription in the Roman character of that time, was a few years ago, and I believe is at present, at Goodwood, in the possession of the Duke of Richmond. It is well known that it was not the custom of that people to erect temples in solitary places, like the Druids, but in populous cities, and the most frequented places. From whence it will follow that the Romans did not lay the foundation of the city; but that it

of aiding Hengist, or to settle where they should find the least opposition, is immaterial. In the event they did join the former Saxon emigrants; and all the resistance which the unhappy Britons could make, though commanded by the brave Ambrosius, proved ineffectual: they were conquered, and forced to seek an asylum from the merciless Saxons beyond the Severn, among the mountains of Wales, where their posterity dwell at this day.

CHAPTER III.

LANDING OF ELLA IN SUSSEX.—THE SIEGE, CAPTURE AND DEMOLITION OF ITS CAPITAL—STATE AND POPULATION THEREOF AT THAT TIME—ELLA FIRST KING OF THE SOUTH SAXONS—SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON CISSA—WHO REBUILT THE CITY.—THE SOUTH SAXONS ATTACKED BY THE KINGS OF WESSEX, AND AT LAST SUBDUED BY EGBERT.—THE ISLE OF WIGHT DESOLATED BY CEADWALLA.—CONVERSION OF THE SOUTH SAXONS TO THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

IN the year 477, another of these Saxon adventurers Ella, and his three sons, Cymer, Wlecing, and Cissa, landed at West-Wittering, a small village, about eight miles south-west of Chichester. He soon made himself master of the adjoining coast; but could not penetrate into the country, which was bravely defended by the inhabitants; who had now learned from the hard fate of their countrymen, that they had no mercy to expect from these ruthless marauders, if they submitted. The descendents of the last emigration of the Belgians then inhabited Sussex, and part of

of Kent. Their ancestors, Cæsar informs us, were the bravest, the most warlike tribe of all the Gauls. But they were no longer a warlike people. On their first settling in Britain, they turned their attention to trade and agriculture. They were greatly degenerated; and their former valour sunk under the Roman luxury and effeminacy. Notwithstanding which, it was some advantage to them that they still retained (in part at least) the discipline which they had learned of that people, and despair and dire necessity made them valiant.

Ella's first campaign, therefore, in Britain, was confined within a very narrow compass. With the forces which he first brought with him, he was unable to attempt the siege of the capital of the Regni, and it was with some difficulty that he maintained the small footing he had gained. True policy would have dictated to the inhabitants, to have attacked him with vigour and unanimity, before he received reinforcements either from Hengist or from Germany. Early in the summer 478, the succours which he had sent for, arrived in great numbers. By whose assistance he extended his conquests, committing the most horrid depredations, and murder-

ing the inhabitants in the country; while they who could escape, fled within the walls of the city for sanctuary. To make himself master of this was a matter of the greatest consequence to him; being aware that if that were obtained, the whole country for many miles round, would submit of course.—Sometime in the year last mentioned, he formed the siege of it; but met with the most resolute and determined opposition. The Britons exerted all their strength in defence of this important place, which was at once their magazine, their principal emporium, the center of their wealth; and in the preservation of which, above all, their lives were included. They harrassed the besiegers by throwing missiles at a distance, forming sorties, and cutting them off by surprise, to such extent, that the Saxon leader found it impossible to reduce it, till he sent for a second, and still more numerous reinforcement—which arrived in the year 480. All resistance was now hopeless on the part of the besieged. The city was taken by assault; and Ella, in revenge of the obstinate defence the Britons had made, (though it does not appear that he had ever offered them any terms) ordered all the inhabitants to be put to the sword, without

without any distinction of sex or age—and almost demolished the city !

“ Quis cladem illius noctis ; quis funera fando
 Explicet ? Aut possit Lachrymis æquare labores ?
 Urbs antiqua ruit, multos dominata per annos :
 Plurima perque vias sternuntur inertia passim
 Corpora ; perque domos, et religiosa Deorum
 Limina.
 Crudelis ubique
 Luctus, ubique pavor, et plurima mortis imago.”

VIRG. ÆNEID. Lib. 2.

“ What tongue the dreadful slaughter could disclose ?
 Or oh ! what tears could answer half our woes ?
 The glorious empress of the nations round,
 Majestic Troy ! lay levelled with the ground !
 Her murder'd natives crowded her abodes,
 Her streets, her domes, the temples of her Gods !
 Death, in a thousand forms, destructive frown'd,
 And woe, despair, and horror rag'd around !”

PITT.

From what has been premised, a probable conjecture may be made of the state and population of the capital of the Regni before it was taken, sacked, and demolished by the Saxons. We have seen that it was a place of considerable resort, before the Romans came into these parts, and in all probability before they ever set foot in Britain. The houses

indeed were mean and irregular, and the fortifications no other than a mound of earth of no great height, covered with loose trees, and surrounded with a ditch of water, about five yards over, of very irregular depth. This was the state of the place when Vespasian first came into Sussex. Of the population of it, no certain opinion can be given. The inhabitants both of the city and country, were Belgians, or rather the posterity of the Belgæ, a people deservedly more favoured by the Romans, than any other tribe or denomination of the Britons whatever; as it was by their aid, and powerful co-operation, that those conquerors of the world were enabled to subjugate the island. When that was effected, they returned, many of them, to their homes, and applied themselves some to commerce, and others to the cultivation of the ground: in both which they were protected and patronized by the powerful arm of the empire. For the protection of their trade, and that of the Gauls, a fleet was constantly stationed at Gessoriacum (now Boulogne in France) to defend it. The natural effect of trade is an increase of property; as that increases, and men acquire the means, they enlarge the circle of their enjoyments, in their manner

manner of living, their attire, their habitation, &c. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the capital of the Regni, the friends and allies of the Roman people, the emporium of an active and trading people, the center of their wealth, the residence of their king, and afterwards of the proprætor, or governor of the province, on the melioration of their circumstances assumed a new and more improved appearance than it had done before. Their huts, which had formerly been built fronting in every direction, without any order or regularity, as convenience dictated, or as fancy prompted, assumed a more decent appearance; regularity succeeded confusion, and caprice gave way to system. Their houses, though far inferior to those of imperial Rome, were built in humble imitation of them; and where circumstances would admit, the same plan on a minor scale, was adopted. In point of strength and durability, not inferior to the modern edifices, but far inferior in utility, convenience, and elegance. The fortifications round the city were raised to a very considerable height, and fenced outwardly with a strong wall, and round towers of flint and mortar, higher than the mound of earth. The irregular ditch, which surrounded the

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walls,

walls, was changed into a regular moat, of the same breadth as before. The number of the inhabitants, we may reasonably suppose, was very great before the coming of the Saxons: much more numerous than at any future period prior to the removal of the episcopal residence from Selsea hither, A. D. 1082. This may be inferred, as from other circumstances, so particularly from the vigorous stand it exhibited, and the noble, though unsuccessful defence the inhabitants made against the furious attack of the Saxon invaders. Time has obliterated the names of those brave Belgians who conducted the arms of their countrymen, in opposing these savages, who delighted in war, and revelled in human carnage!—While we heave a sigh over the hard fate of the besieged, with the same breath we proclaim the justice of their military operations in their own self-defence; for that war, and that alone, is just, which is undertaken in self-defence!—The government and police of the city, while it was in the possession of the Britons, continued the same as had been established at first by the Romans—what that system was, does not very clearly appear; but no doubt can be made but it was planned after the model of Rome, as far

as circumstances would admit.* Fitz Stephens informs us, (vide Stowe, p. 712) that Rome was divided into wards: from which a probability arises that the same regulation in Chichester, originated from that people.—After Ella had taken, sacked, and demolished the Regnian capital, and put the miserable inhabitants, that remained, to the sword, the other parts of the district submitted without making any opposition; the greater part of the people fled where they could from the fury of the invaders.—After this, Ella took upon him the title of king of the South-Saxons; and on the death of Hengist, which happened about this time, was chosen to succeed him as head of the Saxon confederacy: which dignity he possessed till his death, A. D. 504 or 505, reigning in barbarous state, like a beast of prey in the midst of a wilderness, rendered solitary by the depredations of his own jaws, and the inmates of his den. Not that he was absolute, even in those domains which he called his own. The usage of the Saxons

* By a census taken in the reign of Claudius, A. D. 48, the inhabitants of Rome were found to be six millions, nine hundred thousand, and the circumference of the city about fifty of our miles.—Univ. Hist.

Saxons was very averse from despotic power ; they considered the person of their chieftain or *koenig*, as the most distinguished citizen indeed ; but subject to the same laws and regulations as any other freeman. The lands they conquered by their sword, were divided between the chieftain and the other leaders : each leader allotted certain portions thereof to every freeman who followed his standard. By far the greatest number of them were slaves, the property of the freemen, as much as their cattle were. The proportion of land to each chief and freeman, was set apart to him, not by the *koenig*, but by a jury of freemen. Every subordinate freeman, for the land he held under his leader, was bound to arm himself, and a stated number of freemen, in defence not only of the state, but on the requisition of his chieftain ; and to continue in the war till the time of his service was expired. After the union of the heptarchy, the chieftains themselves held their lands under the crown, by military tenure.

Cissa, the son of Ella, succeeded his father in the government of the South-Saxons ; not that the Saxons had any idea of hereditary authority. In their own country, the chieftaincy among them was
purely

purely elective: nor did they deviate any farther from that maxim during the time of the heptarchy in England, than what was occasioned by the power and influence of the chieftain in his life time, operating in favour of his own family to succeed him in authority. This was precisely the case with Cissa, who owed his elevation in the government, partly to the great power of his father, and partly to the influence which his own many good qualities procured him among his countrymen, before the death of Ella. Being a person of a pacific disposition, unlike his father, he cultivated the arts of peace more than those of war. He repaired the walls and houses of the city; and changed the name of it from the Roman appellation it had hitherto borne, to that of Cissaester, from his own name. After ruling the South-Saxons seventy-four years, he died, A. D. 577, at the very advanced age of one hundred and seventeen years; being seventeen years old when he first accompanied his father to England.

To describe the state of this city, at the death of Cissa, must be purely the work of conjecture; and therefore I shall not attempt it, any farther than observing, that as Cissa made it the place of his residence

sidence, we may suppose he would improve it as much as the circumstance of the times, and the genius of the people he ruled, would permit. But if we take into the account, that they were a rude, uncivilised people, and abhorrent in their manners from every degree of, and every tendency towards refinement, we must conclude, that in every respect it was far inferior to the state it was in when the Saxons first laid siege to it.

During the life of Ella, he extended his conquests a considerable way westward, into what is now called Hampshire, or county of Southampton, including the isle of Wight. In the year 521, Cerdic, one of the greatest generals of the Saxons, laid the foundation of the kingdom of Wessex: but met with such powerful opposition from Ambrosius, and the famous Prince Arthur,* in the first part of his tumultuary and bloody reign, that he could not turn his
attention

* The history of this great man has been obscured with so many fables, that it is hardly possible to separate the truth from fiction. That such a person did exist, at this time, need not be doubted. Some writers make him the son of Utherpendragon, the brother of Ambrosius: others will have him to have been the son of Nazon (or Nathan) Leod, who was one of the kings of Wales, or a general of the Britons: but the most probable account is, that he was the son of Gurlois, who was king of Cornwall,

attention to wrest from Cissa all the acquisitions which his father had made in these quarters. His grandson Ceaulin, in 550, made the attempt; and succeeded in part; however the kings of the South-Saxons retained a precarious possession of the isle of Wight, till the year 688, when it was attacked by Ceadwalla, king of Wessex, and added to his dominions. It may be necessary to observe here, that as the kingdom of Wessex was one of the most powerful, so that of the South-Saxons was the weakest in the heptarchy; and as among these invaders, and their posterity, to the time of the union of the seven kingdoms, power and not right, nor any consideration of justice and equity constituted the code of their law, we need not be surprised that the restless and ambitious despots of Wessex, made frequent attempts to annex the kingdom of Sussex to their own territories. It is rather to be wondered that the latter was able to make any effectual opposition against them, and preserve itself an independent state so long. This was the case, for it was never wholly subdued before the time of Egbert, the first king of England: who began his reign as king of Wessex, A. D. 800, and over all England in the year

829 ; being then crowned, according to most historians, at Winchester, by the unanimous consent of the people, both clergy and laity.*

In the year 650, we find Adelwalch on the throne of Sussex ; if that be not an improper way of describing the very limited power which these petty sovereigns had in the state. He was attacked, vanquished, and taken prisoner by Wolphur, king of Mercia : but upon his embracing the Christian religion, Wolphur set him at liberty ; and once more added the isle of Wight to the crown of the South-Saxons which he had taken, together with the whole kingdom

* This is the account that is given of the affair by most, if not all our modern English historians. Since writing the foregoing, I have perused Mr. Turner's history of the Anglo-Saxons ; who is of a different opinion : namely—that Egbert only “asserted “ the predominance of Wessex over the others, whom he made “ tributary ; but did not incorporate East-Anglia, Mercia, or “ Northumbria :”—that “ it is not true that he was crowned king “ of England, or ever entitled so :”—nor “ that he commanded “ the seven united kingdoms to be called England.” He maintains that “ this act of incorporation of the heptarchy, did not take place “ till the time of Alfred, who was *primus monarcha Anglorum*.” This inquisitive and well-informed writer should not be mentioned without paying a due deference to his opinion. He has given his reasons for disbelieving this “ POPULAR TALE,” as he calls it, and adduced his authorities for contradicting it. It is more than possible that his opinion may be correct : but it is not for me to decide. (See Turner's Hist. of the Ang. Sax. vol. 1, p. 367.

kingdom of Wessex, from Kenwalch, or Kenwal; on account of an insult which he had offered Wolphur's sister, Penda, whom he (Kenwalch) had married, and afterwards repudiated. Adelwalch built a monastery at Boseham, where, as Bede says, five or six monks resided.*

But the isle of Wight did not long remain attached to the kingdom of the South-Saxons. It was retaken by Ceadwalla, king of Wessex, A. D. 688, as said before, and again annexed to that state.—During the life of the former king of Wessex, Kintuin, and when he was engaged in the wars against the Britons, this Ceadwalla, having by some means acquired great popularity and power among his countrymen, endeavoured to seize upon the supreme authority, but his practices and designs being timely discovered, his schemes were frustrated, and he himself—

* His words are——“There was among them (the South-Saxons) a certain monk of the Scottish nation, whose name was Dugal, having a very small monastery, at the place called Bosanham, encompassed with the sea and woods, and in it five or six brothers, serving the Lord, in a poor and humble life; but none of the natives cared either to follow their course of life, or hear their preaching,” &c.

self forced to quit the kingdom. Upon which he fled to the forest of Anderida, now the weald of Sussex; where he subsisted for some time by heading a band of freebooters. In order to rid himself of this troublesome inmate, Adelwalch attacked him, and expelled him from his territories. Some time after which Ceadwalla undertook an expedition against Kent; where he had no better success: but in his retreat from thence made a second attack on Adelwalch; defeated and slew him. Flushed with his victory, he endeavoured to make himself master of Sussex, but met with a successful opposition from the inhabitants, headed by Berthun and Anthun, who cut off the greater part of his followers, and forced him to quit the kingdom. Very soon after this, Kentwin, king of Wessex, died, and Ceadwalla by some means or other mounted that throne, in the year 686 or 687. On this accession of power he lost no time in undertaking a second expedition against the kingdom of Kent, where he was guilty of the greatest enormities. The next account we have of him is that, on his return from Kent, he invested the isle of Wight, took it, massacred the miserable inhabitants, and annexed it to the crown

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of Wessex: which shews that Sussex was not absorbed by him; for if it had, the propriety of history requires, that the whole should be mentioned, and not a part only. Of the great spoils, which he had taken in his Sussex and Kentish expeditions, he dedicated a tenth part as donations to atone for his many and enormous crimes: on which, William of Malmesbury makes this pertinent remark—"that whoever offers a victim from the substance of the poor, sacrifices the son before the eyes of the father."

After this expedition of Ceadwalla against this country, there is very little mention in history of the affairs of the South-Saxons, till the year 803, when it was attacked by Egbert, king of Wessex, and annexed to his crown; from this silence, historians have concluded that it ceased to exist as an independent, or even separate, kingdom, after the year 688. They relate that Egbert, after defeating the Britons of Cornwall and Wales, turned his arms against the South-Saxons, who were too weak to make any effectual opposition, and therefore submitted to the conqueror; and were incorporated with his other subjects of Wessex: which shews, that before that time, they had existed as a separate people.

When Ceadwalla invested the isle of Wight, Arwalt, brother to Anthun, was governor of it; and exerted himself to defend it; but, being overpowered by numbers, was forced to retire, and reluctantly leave it to the mercy, or rather to the fury of the invader, who massacred all the miserable inhabitants, except two hundred families, who were saved by decimation, and presented, together with their lands, &c. to the then bishop of Selsea; who accepted the donation with a view, as we are told, to convert them to Christianity.

Before the time of Adelwalch, the South-Saxons were Pagans: but on the conversion of the king, as mentioned before, the Christian religion soon gained ground among them; supported by its own intrinsic excellence, the influence of the king, and of the principal persons in the state: perhaps too the arrival of Wilfrid in this kingdom, might contribute to the same end; but not so much, nor yet by the means that the very improbable and incredible legends of the monkish writers pretend.



CHAPTER IV.

COMING OF WILFRID INTO SUSSEX—PREACHES THE GOSPEL
TO THE INHABITANTS—WAS THE FIRST BISHOP OF THIS
DIOCESE—BRIEF ACCOUNT OF HIM.

AS Wilfrid, or saint Wilfrid, as he is called, was the first bishop of Sussex, after this country was conquered by the Saxons, the reader will not think it a censurable digression in me to lay before him a short epitome of his character. In doing which the regard which is due to truth, induces me to divest it of that fictitious lustre which the monkish and popish writers have very undeservedly lavished upon it. It is not so much because he endeavoured, and that too successfully, to subjugate the English church to the bishop of Rome, but principally because the very accounts themselves, handed down to us by these his panegyrists, when viewed coolly, and without prejudice, evidently demonstrate him to have been a very ambitious, restless, and turbulent man, that

prompts me to endeavour to delineate his true character, stript of that undue veneration which has for many ages been paid to his memory.

At this great distance of time, it is very difficult to draw even the outlines of this incongruous character, with sufficient certainty. By the monkish writers he is represented as a worker of miracles, and a saint: and succeeding historians (many of them at least) have too implicitly adopted their testimony. But even the monks themselves have transmitted to us such particulars concerning him, as in the judgment of every reasonable man, must cancel every claim to saintship. As to his miracles, no man can say what unworthy instruments the Almighty may employ to accomplish the wise ends of his providence: but if we consider that throughout the whole bible we read no account of any very bad person (except Judas Iscariot) who was ever enabled to work miracles, we may well reject those of Wilfrid, as counterfeit, and monkish imposition.

Sometime about the year 650, Wilfrid was preferred to the see of York, by Oswy, king of the Northumbrians; which heptarchy had been converted to the Christian faith by Paulinus, A. D. 619. Oswy

was

was succeeded by his son Egfrid, a prince of great activity, and equal ambition. Wilfrid, by some means, had acquired so great an influence over the mind of the queen, that her husband had recourse to his mediation in order to remove a fanatical delicacy in her that deprived him of the conjugal rites; but the ecclesiastic, instead of arguing her out of her ridiculous scruples, applauded her conduct, and confirmed her in it: for she received the veil at his hands, and retired into a monastery; from whence she fled to Ely, to avoid the importunities of her husband.

Soon after Egfrid married Emmenburga; a lady of a very different turn of mind; who confirmed the king in his resentment against Wilfrid, whom he determined to humble. But the power of the prelate was so great, that he did not think it advisable to attack him openly, until he had effected a rupture between him and Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and sole metropolitan of all England,* who,

E 3

at

* Theodore, who was advanced to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, was a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, and one of the most learned men of the age in which he lived: if we except
Adhelm,

at Egfrid's request, erected several new bishopricks in the then diocese of York, without the consent of Wilfrid. Enraged at this innovation, he loudly exclaimed against the king and the metropolitan, and demanded the revenues which had been converted to the maintainance of the new bishops: and, as his claim was disregarded, he formed the unprecedented resolution of appealing to the bishop of Rome, whither he went in person, and presented a servile petition to Agatho, the Roman bishop: in return for which adulation, he obtained of that prelate a decree to be reinstated into his bishoprick, on pain of excommunication to all who should oppose his restoration.

Adhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, and afterwards bishop of Sherburn.—Being informed of the gross and general ignorance of the English, he brought with him from Rome a valuable collection of books, and professors of the sciences, to assist him in the education of the English youth. The school which Augustin had founded in Canterbury, Theodore greatly improved, for which he deserves our grateful acknowledgment. In it were taught the Greek and Latin languages, poetry, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, logic, philosophy, and divinity—and, according to Bede, the archbishop himself read lectures on medicine. One of these lectures is preserved in his Ecclesiastical History, from which we are not induced to form an high opinion of his knowledge in that particular branch, “It is very dangerous to perform phlebotomy on the fourth day of the moon, because then both the light of the moon, and the tides of the sea are upon the increase.” Eccl. Hist. lib. 5, c. 3.

restoration. Wilfrid immediately returned to England, in full assurance of being reinstated; but when he delivered his pontifical mandamus to the king, the patriotic Northumbrian coolly replied, that the decree of the bishop of Rome did not affect him, and therefore he should pay no manner of regard to it.

Very soon after this Egfrid procured, by the authority of the metropolitan, a general council of the English clergy to be summoned, in which council he laid before them the unwarrantable proceedings of Wilfrid, and the unfounded and unprecedented pretences of the church of Rome. The council unanimously reprobated these pretensions, asserted their own independence, and severely upbraided Wilfrid for appealing to a foreign jurisdiction. The king, finding himself supported by their decision, committed Wilfrid to prison, where he lay several months; and was at last released from it on the mediation of a lady belonging to Egfrid's family, on condition that he should immediately, and for ever, quit the kingdom of Northumberland. He fled to Mercia; from whence he was driven with abhorrence by king Ethelred. He next endeavoured to gain

E 4

admission

admission among the West-Saxons; but without success: so great, and so just an abhorrence, did our predecessors discover against the man who endeavoured to subjugate this church to a foreign power. At last he applied to Adelwalch, king of the South-Saxons, who granted him permission to reside in his kingdom, on condition of his using his utmost diligence to convert the inhabitants to the Christian faith, and assigned to him the peninsula of Selsea, for his residence, and that and other lands for the maintenance of himself and those who were with him. Isaacson, in his Chronology, fixes the date of his first settling here to 680. He remained in Sussex three or four years, and Selsea was the scene of his pretended miracles; for in the kingdom of Northumberland we hear of none of his miraculous works. If we could by any means come at his true history in the peninsula, there is reason to believe that we should find several instances of his abject spirit and meanness, but none of his miracles. Certain it is he applied to his metropolitan, Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury; and it is most probable the application was made in the most humble and penitent manner, otherwise Theodore would hardly have had any

any thing to do with a man who was virtually excommunicated, and expelled the Christian church. However that might be, and whatever were the motives of the archbishop, Theodore used all his influence, which was not small, with Alfred, the successor of Egfrid, by whom, at the intercession of the archbishop, he was put in possession of the monastery of Rippon. Not satisfied with this indulgence, he had the presumption to insist upon being reinstated in the bishoprick, but as Alfred had filled the see with Bosa (Isaacson) his demand could not be granted; in the meantime Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, died, A. D. 690, and in 692 was succeeded by Birthwald: to whom Wilfrid applied to be reinstated in his bishoprick. What success he had with Birthwald, my authors are not agreed: but it would appear that the dispute was not settled to his approbation; for we are informed that he undertook a second journey to Rome on the occasion, though turned of seventy years of age; and on his return was furnished with letters of recommendation and mandamus by the pope to the kings of Mercia and Northumberland. The former of these paid great respect to these commendatory letters, as coming
from

from a Christian bishop; nor is it to be wondered at, for he soon afterwards quitted his crown, to his nephew Kenrid, and commenced monk, in the monastery of Bradney; of which he was afterwards abbot. As for Eadwulf, (who on the death of Alfred had usurped the throne of Northumbria) he peremptorily refused to have any connections with him (Wilfrid) and by some he is said to have forbidden him to enter into his kingdom. In revenge for which Wilfrid excited by every means in his power, the Mercian king and nobility to send a powerful reinforcement to Osred, son of Alfred, to enable him to drive the usurper from the throne; by whose assistance, Osred at last prevailed, put Eadwulf to death, and regained the sovereignty. As Wilfrid had been so greatly instrumental in the exaltation of Osred, it is no wonder that he was as great a favourite with him, as he had been detested by the former kings. And as the power of the Northumbrians at this time was considerable in the heptarchy, it was a fit season for Wilfrid to wreak his revenge upon his former persecutors; a season which he was not disposed to let slip. Among these, Birthwald, the metropolitan, was devoted for the first victim: who
 seeing

seeing the storm that hung over him from Osred, was glad to accommodate matters, as well as he could, with a man of so restless, so vindictive a temper, as he knew his prompter to be. The sentence of excommunication was taken off, the bishoprick of Hexham conferred upon him, and also the revenues of the abbey at Rippon. Thus the pretensions of the Romish bishop, over this church, received a pretext and considerable strength in the triumph of Wilfrid; who survived this accommodation about four years; died in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and was buried at Rippon.—His bones were afterwards removed and interred in Canterbury, about the year 940, by Odo, the metropolitan. (Vide Le Neve's Fasti. p. 305.)

The candid reader, I hope, will excuse this long digression (if it be a digression) the more readily, as it tends to shew, when, and by what unworthy means, the English church was at first connected with, and afterwards subjected to that of Rome. I am aware that prior attempts had been made to the same purpose; but they were always unsuccessful before the interference of Wilfrid.—How justly he has been dignified with the title of
saint,

saint, I leave any impartial person to judge; and likewise what credit is due to the account of his miracles, which we find in some of the popish historians in after ages; from whom, and the latter writers, I have taken the facts from which I have endeavoured to delineate his character.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY IN SUSSEX, PREVIOUS TO THE
TIME OF THE SAXONS.

PERHAPS an estimate of the manners of the original inhabitants of Britain, sufficiently correct, might be made from a survey of those of the uncivilized nations and tribes, with which we are acquainted, and which have been described to us, in the many discoveries with which the public is enriched, in the voyages and travels of the present day. As human nature is still the same, and varies only as circumstances vary, it is most probable that the inhabitants of the Friendly and Society Islands, as described by Captain Cook, differ in no material degree, either in knowledge or morals from those of Britain, before they had any intercourse with, and were corrupted by the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and afterwards the Romans: the same absence of all scientific knowledge prevailed among the Britons, as among these
rude

rude islanders ; the same natural sagacity, goodness of disposition, and unpolished manners.—The faithful page of history informs us, that the original inhabitants, who lived in the interior part of the country, devoted themselves wholly to a pastoral life, and wandered from one part to another in quest of pasture for their herds and flocks. Contented with the necessaries and comforts of life, and ignorant of the fictitious wants created by luxury, they spent their long and happy lives, unconnected with the rest of mankind, far removed from the wars and commotions which harrass mankind, and desolate the world.

The Celts, which followed them in after ages, they received hospitably, and they became incorporated, and lived together in harmony and peace.—With this people the Phœnicians, and according to some authors, the Grecians traded, long before they were known to the Romans. Their habitations were huts, some of them formed of boughs of trees, resembling arbours ; others consisted of mud and clay, and covered with turf. Their diet was simple, and they frugal in the use of it, consisting of milk, apples, &c. and the flesh of such animals as they killed in hunting. Their drink was chiefly water :
only

only on extraordinary occasions they indulged themselves with a kind of fermented liquor, made of wild barley, honey, or apples. To their temperance they owed their great longevity; for, according to Plutarch, the infirmities of age did not attack them before an hundred and twenty, or an hundred and thirty years. Their abstemiousness was owing, in some measure, to their religious principles, by which they were strictly prohibited from eating fowl, hare, goose, or fish. The three former they raised as domestic animals; and they accounted it impious to take the latter, as they believed that the supreme Being had given the waters to the inferior deities; and therefore they and every thing in them belonged to them of right, and not to man.

How long the Britons lived in this happy state of innocence and peace, it would be idle to pretend to determine. The first interruption it received was from the Belgæ, who inhabited part of Gaul; and who, in hopes of participating in the advantages which the Britons enjoyed, came over in great numbers, so as to endanger the very intention of their emigration: for a country that is uncultivated, and whose inhabitants are supported solely by flocks
and

and herds, cannot be populous: and before the coming of the Belgæ, the Britons knew no more of agriculture, than the Indians in the western parts of North-America do at this day. It is equally uncertain by what means the Belgians obtained possession of the maritime parts of the country; whether it was to avoid war, or in consequence of war, that the Celtæ yielded them the quiet possession thereof; and retired themselves to the inland parts, to enjoy that peace and serenity of life to which they were so much attached.

The success of these being known to their countrymen on the continent, they came over into Britain in such numbers, as to raise the jealousy of the first Belgian emigrants. Hence feuds arose, and then war commenced. The divisions of the islanders being made known to Divitiacus, chieftain of the Suessones in Gaul, he came over with a large body of his countrymen, in hopes to have made himself master of the whole island; but he was disappointed of his expectation, chiefly by the resolution of the Belgæ, who had gotten prior possession of it where it was most accessible. The consequence of his expedition was fatal to the tranquility of the Celts:

the

the country was filled with confusion, blood, and rapine—and in the issue parcelled out into districts, every district became a separate government; the original manners and mode of living were wholly changed; and their independence, in which they placed their supreme happiness, lost in some degree: some part of it they were under the necessity of sacrificing to the very urgent claim of self-defence. The chieftain whom they had elected to concentrate their force, they were obliged to invest with a greater degree of power than they wished to delegate to any. Power once delegated, cannot often be easily reassumed; it has charms in it which too frequently fascinates the affections of men; and few, in comparison, have strength of mind sufficient to resist them. Besides, the untowardly circumstances of the times, ever since the hostile invasion of Divitiacus, rendered the pastoral system (to which the Celts were so much attached) impracticable to be adhered to; and those expedients which they adopted, no doubt, as temporary, and to be but of short continuance, the adverse fates rendered perpetual, and greatly aggravated the inconveniencies which they principally deprecated.

The inhabitants of every district chose a leader or chieftain, whom they invested with new powers: and as these leaders did not agree, nor harmonize among themselves, the country was distracted, and filled with uproar, in consequence of their bickerings; and the blood of the people shed in causes in which their interest was not at all concerned. This was the condition the country was in, when Cæsar invaded it—and in this state it is most probable it would have continued, had that invasion been delayed.—Some of the greater districts would have swallowed up their weaker neighbours; but the feuds and wars would not have subsided; because the interest of the leaders consisted in their continuance.* War is not more destructive of the happiness of

* The whole of the country was divided into seventeen states or governments, viz.

The Dumnonii inhabiting	Cornwal and Devonshire
The Duwtriges	Dorsetshire
The Belgæ	{ Somersetshire, Wiltshire and Hampshire
The Atrebatii	
The Regni <i>conquered by H. VIII.</i>	Berkshire
The Cantii	Sussex and Surrey
The Canthi	Kent
The Dobuni	Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire
The Catuvellauni	{ Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire

The

of any people, than it is of their morals. We may therefore conclude, that after the expedition of Divitiacus, the character of the Celts underwent a very great change for the worse: notwithstanding which, the description which Cæsar and others give of their habits of life, when he landed here, is such as the inhabitants of modern Europe may look back to with a sigh—though then considerably degenerated from the simplicity of their primitive pastoral state.

F 2

After

The Trinobantes	.....	Middlesex, and Essex
The Iceni	.....	{ Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge- shire and Huntingdonshire
The Coritani	.....	{ Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Derbyshire
The Cornavii	.....	{ Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire and Cheshire
The Silures	.....	{ Herefordshire, Brecknockshire, Radnorshire, Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire
The Dimetæ	.....	{ Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire
The Ordovices	.....	{ Montgomeryshire, Denbighshire, Carnarvonshire, Flintshire, Merionethshire, and Anglesea
The Brigantes	.....	{ Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Yorkshire, and Durham
The Ottadini	.....	Northumberland

After the coming of the Romans, the morals of the Britons were still more perverted ; both as a consequence of the incessant wars, which raged in the country, and also by their being connected with that people ; whose manners, after the time of Cæsar, proceeded in rapid course from one degree of degeneracy to a higher, till they at last reached the very height of depravity.—In all which changes, the provinces, as members of the same body, participated with the head ; though not in equal degree.—Even so early as the reign of Tiberius, the second in succession after Cæsar, the emperor had recourse to that ominous measure of employing spies and informers, to bolster up the government—a sure sign that the maxims of it were not in unison with the general will. About the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian æra, it resembled a vastly extended theatrical representation. Nothing in it was real, or what it appeared to be : the form of Roman greatness remained in full splendor ; but the substance was no where to be found. An office in the state was the sole title to respect or regard ; to look for either on the score of personal merit, was an offence, and might subject a person to suspicion of
aiming

aiming to procure honour from any other source than the emperor, who was the fountain of honour. The principal officers of the empire were saluted, even by the emperor himself, with the deceitful titles of your honour, your excellency, your sublime magnitude, your illustrious highness. In the Theodosian Code, (lib. 6, tit. 6) the rules of respect and precedence, are ascertained with the most minute accuracy, by the emperor—and illustrated with tedious prolixity by their learned interpreter.

The declension of the national character, among the Britons, prevailed in a particular manner among the Belgians; who inhabited the sea coast. They were more conversant with the legionary soldiers, than the other inhabitants. Of them, not only the auxiliary cohorts were formed, but the ranks of the legions filled by drafts from thence.* Besides, being a commercial people, they were connected with them various ways, and imbibed their manners. To

F 3

this

* In the time of Tiberius, the legion contained six thousand and seventy-two men, and the cohort five hundred—(Vide Tacit. Anton. Orat. 5.)—but in the succeeding periods of the empire they declined to such a degree, that even in the reign of Constantine, the number can hardly be ascertained: and in the latter times they consisted of no fixt number.

this we have to add, that as the Britons, after the days of Claudius, were a conquered people, the consciousness of their dependent condition, enervated their minds, damped their virtues, and disposed them to the commission of mean and dishonourable actions.

To compensate, in some degree, for the deterioration of morals among the Britons, their manner of living was improved by their connection with the Romans. If the new habits they acquired, cannot be called polished, the asperity of the old was corrected: the useful arts began to dawn; and thereby the way was paved for the introduction of the sciences into this isle. So far back as the time of Julius Cæsar, they had adopted the use of clothing, instead of going naked, and painting their bodies: some of them wore cloth made of wool, and others the skins of beasts: the cloth, we may suppose, was of a very inferior kind—not manufactured in Britain, but procured from Gaul, Italy, &c. What improvements in the culinary department, the first inhabitants received from the Gauls, and Romans, I believe cannot be determined. Among the latter people, the great men furnished their tables with prodigious cost and profusion; and lived in the most sumptuous

ous and luxurious manner; but we are led to conclude, that in this particular, the example of Italy prevailed less in Britain, than in any other of the provinces. The means of emulating or approximating to the splendor of Rome, or the effeminacy of Baiae, were then far removed from the inhabitants of Britain, though destined at a future period to outstrip them both.

CHAPTER VI.

FEROCITY AND CRUELTY OF THE SAXONS.—THE BRITONS NOT WHOLLY EXTIRPATED BY THEM IN SUSSEX—TRAITS OF THEIR CHARACTER—ACCOUNT OF THEIR ORIGIN—RISING TO POWER IN GERMANY—THEIR PIRACIES, MANNER OF LIVING, CLOTHING, &c.

THE subjugation of Britain to the Romans, was followed with many miseries to the wretched inhabitants; but all these miseries vanish and disappear in perusing the account of the conquest of it by the Saxons. Among the former, some traits of humanity are to be found; among the latter, none. To be susceptible of pity was dishonourable among them. The history of mankind, in all the various details which it exhibits, of the misery and carnage which ambition, and the rage of power, have brought on men, does not record any which convey more horror, or wound the ear of humanity, more than those which the ferocious and inexorable Saxons, inflicted upon

upon the miserable Britons; till the whole race was exterminated; except a very few, who fled in trembling agony to the mountains of Wales, from the unrelenting fury of their irresistible butchers! It was not a practice with them to make any prisoners: a rule from which they rarely deviated—and when they did, it was done in order to fill up the number of slaves, which each freeman among them was permitted to keep, from the most healthy and robust among the prisoners; and all the rest were slaughtered. As a people, they were destitute of every virtue, every good quality, except that species of courage, more properly denominated ferocity. So that though Ella, the founder of the kingdom of the South-Saxons, after slaughtering all the inhabitants of the capital, exerted himself with all his power, to extirpate the former inhabitants in every part of the dominions, which he called his; they who escaped the sword of the conqueror, had reason to felicitate themselves on being more fortunate than others; as his son and successor Cissa, unlike his father, and his countrymen in general, was of a mild, pacific disposition, and during the whole course of his long reign, cultivated the arts of peace to the utmost of his

his power. In every other part throughout the whole country, the exterminating system was followed up without abatement, even to the end of the heptarchy. From the silence of Gildas, with respect to Sussex, after the death of Ella, we may conclude that less severity was exercised there, than in other districts: and that those Belgians, who were engaged in commerce, or practised trades, were suffered to live, and pursue their occupation. Not so the possessors of land, their only alternative, even here, was to share the fate of their countrymen in other parts, or become slaves to the new proprietors; as the land was divided among the chieftains, and their followers—and none of the Britons were by any means suffered to retain any part of it: but that they were not wholly extirpated, nor driven from the kingdom of the South-Saxons, we may conclude from hence, that the arts, which they had learned from the Romans, and practised many years with success, both before and after the departure of that people from Britain, were not entirely eradicated from the dominions of Cissa. In particular, the manufacture of iron must have been carried on to a considerable extent; for the first ship anchors ever
made

made in Britain were fabricated in Sussex, A. D. 578, (see Raymond's Hist. of England.) In it are several places denominated *bar*, and some *forge*, which would induce one to think that there had formerly been iron-founderies there, or iron-manufactories; and that the places had derived their names from that circumstance. Several other trades they must have had some knowledge in, before they could have been competent to make anchors for ships, even of moderate size. That the Britons were not adepts in the various trades which they learned of the Romans, must be granted; but it is probable, that in each they were greater proficient than afterwards the Saxons were for many years. The genius of this people did by no means turn towards the mechanical arts: their sole delight was in war; from long and immemorial habit, the innate and almost inextinguishable dictates of humanity, were subdued, and to all appearance wholly eradicated from their savage breasts. When they put a prisoner to death, they felt no more compunction than a tyger does when he kills a man. Another trait of their character was intemperance both in eating and drinking, especially the latter. With them drunkenness was not reckoned disgraceful.

disgraceful. In their cups they were apt to quarrel (no uncommon circumstance) and their quarrels generally ended in blood; as we are informed by Tacitus. To this we have to add their attachment to gambling; which was a general propensity among them all: and to so great an extent did they carry it, that many of them after losing all their property, and even their wives and children, (to be slaves to the winner) would stake their own freedom, and run the hazard of becoming the slaves of their antagonists. The two last traits of their character, intemperance and gaming, adhered to them when the rigour of their ferocity was considerably abated after the union of the heptarchy.

After they were firmly fixed in the possession of the kingdom, and had nothing to fear from the attempts of the former proprietors, they set to cultivating the land; as they found by experience, that without cultivation they could not derive a sufficient maintenance. In this they were instructed by their slaves, the Britons: to whose lot it fell to do all the laborious part of it, for the use and emolument of their masters. Hard lot for these unhappy men! to plough, and sow, and reap those fields for others so
lately

lately their own; which their own industry had rendered fertile, and to suffer want themselves the mean time! Fatal consequence of their imprudence in investing Vortigern with a degree of power, of which he was unworthy, and which his weakness or treachery, and perhaps both, disqualified him from discharging aright; for the very momentous purpose for which it was conferred on him. According as the Saxons turned their attention to agriculture, in the same proportion did their ferocity abate. In Sussex, the connection which the few Britons who remained in it, maintained with the continent, with which they trafficed, was attended with the happiest consequences, both to themselves, and to the Saxon inhabitants; on whom it cannot be supposed that the example of their laborious and ingenious bondsmen had no effect. The progress in the arts which such people could make, must be but slow: notwithstanding, after the introduction of Christianity among them, and the influence of a mild religion, had softened and subdued the asperity of their disposition, and their former habits of life, we find them rising into some consequence in the scale of rational life.

The origin of our ancestors cannot be traced, with historical certainty, higher than A. D. 140. Ptolemy, the Egyptian, in his Geography, takes notice, that there was a people called Saxones, who inhabited on the north side of the Elbe, on the neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus: that the peninsula, consisting of Jutland, Sleswick, and Holstein, was occupied by six other tribes, or hordes, besides them; and therefore we may conclude, that at that time, they could be of no great importance. Tacitus, who wrote about fifty years earlier, (in the reign of Domitian) in his description of Germany, and its inhabitants, takes no notice of the Saxons: but it will not follow from his silence, (as some have imagined) that they did not then exist there; but only that they were not of consequence enough to be described by him, or even mentioned. The Sacæ, Saccæ, or Saxæ, were then, and long after, one of the tribes of the Goths, who formed the *second* migration from Asia, which poured it's myriads upon the northern parts of Europe. In its progress westward, it drove the Celtic tribes before it; and at different periods of time, either extirpated them, or obliged them to look out for new settlements for themselves. The
particular

particular time when this Gothic irruption into Europe took place, it is impossible to ascertain, and therefore unprofitable to attempt. Tacitus supposes all the Germans to be indigeni, or original inhabitants, from which we may gather that they had lived there from time immemorial, and that the period of their first settling there could not be traced. These, in their turn, were impelled, and forced to give way to a third irruption of barbarians, called Huns, who came into Europe about the year 376, whose descendants now inhabit Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, &c.*

From the Celtic colony have sprung the following dialects—the Antient Briton, the Erse, the Irish, the Cornish, the Armorican. From the Gothic irruption—the Antient Saxon, the English, the Lowland Scotch, the German, Swabian, Swiss, Icelandic, Norse, Danish, Swedish, Orkneyan. From the Scavonic, or Hunnish—the Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Dalmatian, Bulgarian, Carinthian, Moravian, Croatian, &c.

In the original state of the Saccæ, or Saxons, no signs were discoverable of their future greatness;
their

* See Hickes's Thesaur.—Pinkerton's Origin of the Scythians—Krant's Saxonia, and Turner's History of the Anglo Saxons.

their rise they owed to circumstances purely accidental, as far as human sagacity could determine. First—The confederation of many of the German tribes, A. D. 240, to defend themselves from the inroads of the Romans, who threatened them all with destruction, under the name of Franks, (freemen) in the event contributed to the advancement of the Saxons: as their exploits on the ocean against the commerce and allies of the Romans, were of great advantage to the union, they thereby merited and received a greater estimation among the members thereof, than they had before. Secondly—The voyage of the Franks from the Euxine to the Rhine, their native country, afforded them an example, and at the same time gave them an impulse to extend the scene of their maritime adventures.* In consequence of this, they so infested the coasts of Belgium, Gaul and Britain, that the Romans were obliged to station a powerful fleet at Boulogne, to check them. In the reign of Dioclesian and Maximian, the command of this fleet was given to Carausius, who abused his commission, and, to secure his impunity, boldly assumed the purple: and was acknowledged emperor by

* Zosimus, end of book I.—Gibbon I. 329.

by the legions in Britain. In order to maintain his usurpation, he entered into alliances with the Saxons, &c. encouraged their piracies, gave them the Roman ships, and supplied them with experienced officers, who taught them the principles of navigation, (as they were then known) and the naval tactics. This usurpation lasted seven years, in which time, the Saxons acquired immense booties, and, what they valued still more, the empire of the sea. In the exercise of which, the atrocities they committed are innumerable, and too full of horror to be related.*

To lay the foundation of power, is an atchievement of more difficulty than to maintain, or even increase it. So early as the beginning of the fourth century, other tribes become desirous of obtaining the same advantages: these joined the Saxons, and added fresh strength to a confederacy already too strong for the peace of the world. This union consisted of various tribes, of different denominations, but all passed under the name of Saxon,† and included

* After a successful enterprise, it was a custom with them to decimate their miserable prisoners, and immolate them to Woden, or Odin, their god of war.—See Sid. Apoll. Epis. 6.

† The Chauci, Frisii, Chamavi, Batavi, Toxandri, Morini, Cimbri, Jutes, and Angles, and others of less note.—Vide Turner's Hist. of Anglo-Saxons.

cluded in it all the German states, to the north of the Rhine. Before the time that they invaded Britain, this mixed people had diffused themselves into, and possessed the interior of Germany; so that the extensive country between the Elbe and the Rhine, and even the Scheldt, was subject to their dominion.

The naval strength of this band of confederated pirates, consisted rather in the number than the strength of their craft—more in the courage and intrepidity than in the nautical skill of the assailants. Their study was rather to surprise than to combat; and plunder more than conquest was their aim: their vessels could not, with any propriety, be called ships—they were rather skiffs than boats—they were constructed of osiers, covered with skins sewed together, and plastered over with a composition of tar and grease.* To these they gave the preference, on account of their superior utility. For these no coast was too shallow, nor any river too narrow. In them they attacked the interior parts of a country; and when pressed with danger, carried them from one river to another, and thus evaded any force that could be sent against them.

No

* Du Bos' His. Crit.

No discredit will attach to the memory of our ancestors on account of the state of their domestic œconomy. The garments which they wore, before they came to Britain, consisted of a close tunic, or vest, reaching from the shoulders to the knee, and fastened round the body with a belt, or girdle, and over that a mantle, fastened under the chin with a thorn, or small wooden pin, and loose every where else. Both these were of cloth, made of wool, or wool and flax.—The slaves wore pelts, or skins, instead of woollen tunics and mantles; and so did many of the meaner part of the freemen. For shoes they had a kind of buskins, or half-boots, of undressed leather, which covered the feet and ancles, and were fastened on with strings, or points, made of the same. The dress of the women did not differ much from that of the men : only their bosoms and arms below the elbows, were bare ; whereas those of the men were covered. On their heads they wore close caps, made of strong undressed leather ; ornamented on the top with a bunch of feathers. The use of shirts was unknown. Their principal instruments of warfare were a short broad-sword and shield. Their houses in Britain were those from which they ex-

pelled the Britons; in Germany they had no fixed place of habitation, or possessions in land; a new division was made every year, lest the attachment to house or land, should lessen their military ardour, which they esteemed as their greatest honour. But that mode was abandoned when they settled in Britain. Their manner of living, in eating and drinking, &c. cannot be ascertained distinctly, but may easily be conjectured from what is known from their manners in general.

CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF RELIGION IN SUSSEX BEFORE THE END
OF THE HEPTARCHY.

THAT the religion of the Cimbri, the original inhabitants of this isle, was druidism, we have the authority of Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and, I believe, the antient British bards. The primitive religion of the druids was the most simple, and, except the Christian system, the most rational that can be imagined. They believed in one supreme God, immense and eternal; that he made the world, and presides over it, and the affairs of men; that the human soul is immortal, and after death shall be conveyed to a place of happiness or misery; according to it's deserts; that acts of cruelty, even to the brute creation, will be punished with adequate severity in another state; that if any person relieved the distresses, or anywise assisted a fellow-creature, or even

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a beast,

a beast, he would be rewarded for the same in eternity; that to confine the worship of the deity within walls was inconsistent with the belief of his omnipresence; that therefore their temples ought to be exposed to the open air; to remind men that their most secret thoughts are open to the view of that being who can neither deceive nor be deceived; that the oblations offered to him ought to be either meal, or a cake made upon the hearth, and that it is lawful, on particular occasions, at the discretion of the patriarch, to sacrifice to him birds, or even beasts; that masters of families are endowed with absolute power in their own households; that youth were to be instructed only in the sacred groves, that the knowledge of the sciences must not be committed to writing, but fixed in the memory; that mistletoe must be gathered with reverence, if possible, on the sixth day of the month; that the powder of mistletoe is a sovereign remedy in many diseases; that the world, if ever destroyed, will be consumed either by fire or water.—How long the Cimbri adhered to this system of religion, (the true patriarchal religion, with the addition of a few innocent articles) cannot be certainly known; but there is reason to believe that

that they lived many ages here before they polluted the worship of God with human inventions; that they were not the least contaminated, 'till after the arrival of the Belgeans, who in trading with the Phœniceans or Tyrians, first learned of them the horrid notion of the necessity of human sacrifices, equally unworthy of the innate ideas we have of the divine benevolence, and repugnant to the plainest and strongest dictates of human nature. In process of time, we are told, they even improved upon this infernal system; and were so infatuated as to imagine that the greater the dignity and virtue of the victim, so much the more propitious would the deity be! Thus a valuable husband, a beloved wife, or an hopeful child, were pitched upon, in cases of very great danger, rather than any other of less value.

Hardened at length by these practices, they insensibly became deaf to the voice of humanity, and carried their cruelty to such an enormous pitch, that they formed idols (we are told) of so monstrous a size as to contain whole crouds of persons, who were burned at once to expiate the anger of the Gods. If this account were duly authenticated,

(which it is not*) we might well exclaim—"what ideas of the god of mercy, who delights in the happiness of all his creatures ! But history as well as experience convinceth us, that the smallest deviation
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* The public have great obligations to the Cambrian literati for translating and publishing several of the antient British poems; those of Taliessin are particularly valuable; for throwing considerable light upon the annals of that dark period. He flourished in and before A. D. 570. (See Jones's Ant. Relics.) Some of his effusions have been published, many more are not. It is to be hoped that the Welch bards of the present day, will translate and publish his (Taliessin's) poems, those of Aneurin, Myrzen, (Merlin) and Llywarch Hen, and other bards who succeeded them. The treasures of information which they contain, will, no doubt, dispel the darkness which shrouds the history of that period, and transfer the MONSTROUS IDOLS FOR IMMOLATING CROWDS OF PRISONERS, from the injured druids, to the Romans; to stain their memory with lasting and deserved infamy and execration. I know that Tacitus, in his Annals, (lib. 14. 10.) writes, that the druids accounted it lawful to sacrifice on their altars, prisoners taken in war, to practise augury on the occasion, and to ask council of their gods, by inspecting "*HUMANA VISCERA*," the heart and entrails of the human victims: but I know likewise, that the campaigns of Agricola in Britain, were stained with blood, both on the south and the north side of the Tweed, that his rout wherever he went, was marked by burning of houses, and unnecessary wanton carnage; and therefore we ought to view with caution, and some degree of suspicion, the hard features in which the portrait of the Britons is drawn by the pen of this annalist—he was a Roman, he was Agricola's panegyrist, and he was his son-in-law.

from the true worship of God seldom stops until it has arrived at the utmost height of wickedness."

But the progress to this state of depravity (if ever it took place) must have been slow, and not consummated in a few years, but in the revolution of many. And we should do great injustice to the memory of the primitive druids, not to suppose that they made as resolute a stand against the increasing deluge of error and impiety, as the unassisted powers of man could do: and that many of them greatly fell, and expired under the ruins of that goodly system, which they could no longer support.

But it is to be noted, that the account of the degeneracy of the British druids is derived from the Roman historians: hence a suspicion arises that the cruelties imputed to the Britons, are magnified, and perhaps fabricated, in order to exculpate their own people from the many acts of barbarity which they exercised for many years in this land. The reluctant pen of the historian informs us, that in the reign of Nero, A. D. 59, Suetonius Paulinus was sent into Britain to quell some insurrections that had taken place among a people greatly oppressed. In this undertaking, meeting with some opposition in the
isle

isle of Anglesea, and judging, perhaps rightly, that the insurgents were prompted to revolt by the druids, he ordered the whole of them to be slaughtered, and no mercy to be shewn to any of that order; who were supposed to be the center of union to all those who continued to rally round the standard of liberty. While human nature continues what it is, acts of wanton barbarity will always meet the reprobation of mankind; and therefore the Roman general gave out that he had burned the druids in the fires which they had prepared to burn the Romans in, if they had been victorious.—The same historians inform us, that the emperor Nero, who was never noted for clemency, a year or two after, recalled Paulinus from Britain, on account of the over-severity and cruelty which he exercised upon the wretched inhabitants.

It is pretended that the druids had, in part, engrafted the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, on their original tenets; and therefore, as their religion became corrupt, so their morals became depraved. Granting the assertion, the inference will not follow. The Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls, is a very unlikely foundation to build a *system of cruelty upon, even to beasts*: it is a system of philanthropy.

Such,

Such, we are told, was the state of religion in this country, when the Romans first landed here; and history shews, that they made a more resolute stand for their religion, however corrupt it might be, than they did for their liberty.

The last effort they made against the Romans, in defence of their religion, was under the banners of the brave, but unfortunate Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, A. D. 61, which terminated in her destruction, and the general massacre of the druidical priests, and the druids throughout the kingdom. That the greatest part of them were then destroyed, and fell victims to the sanguinary rage of Paulinus, and the Romans, is indisputable; yet there is reason to conclude that some of them (the druidical priests) escaped the fury of their insatiable persecutors, and remained many years afterwards, nor was their religion eradicated in Britain, till the light of the gospel dispelled that ignorance which had so long darkened the human understanding.

Stonehenge, situated near the summit of an eminence on Salisbury-plain, is the most remarkable druidical temple now in Britain, and appears to have been the principal place of their worship. The
druidical

druidical institution included in it three distinct orders, or classes, the priests, the bards, and the vates, which last order devoted themselves to the study, and instructed the people in the knowledge of astronomy, divination, natural philosophy, and physic, or rather medicine.

The order of the bards composed the verses which were sung at their religious meetings or assemblies. They preserved also in their songs the warlike exploits, and the virtuous actions of their heroes and patriots; and were both historians and poets. This class remains unto this day. About the beginning of the fifteenth century, several of the Cambro-Britons, in order to preserve the songs of the bards from perishing, and being for ever lost to posterity, consulted together, and, though contrary to the laws and regulations of their institution, agreed to commit them to writing. Accordingly, about the middle of the sixteenth century, a very considerable collection of them was made. By the diligence of the Cambrian patriots, this collection has been revised, augmented, and improved, up to the present time. The last authentication of them was made A. D. 1681, (vide Turner) at a gorsez, under the sanction.

sanction of Sir Richard Basset. This collection is "pronounced to be the fullest collection of bardism, and this book is said to be in actual existence." (Turner, vol. I. p. 199.) The last public gorsez was held on the 22d day of September, 1792, at Primrose-hill. (ibid.)

These three orders were all subordinate to one primate or chief druid, chosen out of the order of priests; who enjoyed his authority for life. His power was unlimited; but it ought to be observed to their honour, that in the discharge of his duty, and exercise of this high office, he always acted with incorruptible integrity for the good of the public over which he presided.

The precise time when Christianity was first preached in Britain, is not fully and satisfactorily ascertained. The dream of William of Malmesbury of the translation of Joseph of Arimathea, to the church of Glastonbury, I pass over as a monkish fable, unworthy of refutation. We are informed by Eusebius, an inquisitive writer, and therefore worthy of credit; and by Theodoret, a bishop of the fifth century, that the Britons were converted to Christianity by Saint Paul, about the sixty-second or sixty-third

third year of the vulgar æra. There is reason to believe that the Claudia, mentioned by him in his epistles, is the same lady who is celebrated by the poet Martial. The apostle takes notice of Claudia and Pudens, and Martial names this very Pudens as the husband of Claudia Rufina: nor do we think it an improbable conjecture, that this Pudens is the person named in the inscription on the temple of Minerva in Chichester, mentioned before. But all these are matters of probable conjecture only, and as such I give them, and not of historical certainty.

From Gildas and Bede we learn, that the gospel was preached in Britain at a very early date,—that the Britons, who were noted for their docility, embraced the doctrines thereof almost generally. They were not molested in the profession of it before the time of Dioclesian, who began his reign A. D. 287. A very great share of this heavy and general persecution fell upon Britain; in which saint Alban suffered martyrdom; as did Aaron and Julius, and many others.

Soon after this, that is about the year 311, Constantine the great, not only tolerated but encouraged the Christian religion, the doctrines of
which

which he himself professed—it therefore appeared with greater splendour than before, when the public profession of it existed only by the courtesy, or rather by the connivance of the imperial court. At the council of Arles, which was holden before the middle of the fourth century, three British bishops subscribed by the names of Eborius, Restitutus, and Adelfius de civitate Coloniae Lindi, that is York, London, and Lincoln, according to bishop Usher. Three British bishops also were present at the councils of Nice, Sardis, and Arminium: at which last they who attended were obliged to accept the emperor's allowance, not being able to defray the expence of the journey, and too conscientious to levy contributions on their brethren. The Christian religion prevailed in Britain till towards the end of the fifth century; when both it and its professors, were expelled from hence by the victorious Saxons, who were Pagans, and gave themselves very little trouble about religion. Not that they were entirely without religion. Their chief deity was Woden,*

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* Their paradise, in an after state, was the hall of Woden, or Odin; where (their priests taught them) they who had behaved VALIANTLY, in this life, would be admitted, have plenty of the
best

(the god of war) to him they offered sacrifices, and upon particular occasions, those sacrifices were men : to him they dedicated the fourth day of the week, Woden's day. Their inferior deities were Thor, (Jupiter) Frea or Frico, (Venus) Tuisco, the founder of their nation. Tacitus says they also worshipped Herthus, (their mother Earth) "as believing that she interested herself in the affairs of men and nations."

In order to foretel the events of war, they used to take a captive of the nation against which their design was, and oblige him to fight a duel with one of their own nation, taken by lot, each was to fight with the arms of his country, and from the issue of this combat they concluded which side would be victorious.

As the state of society in the period now under consideration, afforded no agreeable view, so that of religion presents us with nothing consolatory. The first was savage to a degree almost beyond belief;
the

best meat to eat, and wine to drink out of the skulls of their enemies. It was accounted dishonourable among them to die in bed, or any way but in armour. When a man, who had not obtained an honourable passport to the great hall, in the field of battle, the scene of GLORY, found his end approaching, it was usual among them, for him to array himself in complete armour, and thus accoutered, wait his dissolution,—(Sax. Chron.)

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the second disgusting and full of horror. To attempt a moral and mental revolution among the Saxons of the sixth century, was an arduous undertaking. No wonder that the courage of the missionary, saint Augustine, became paralyzed before he had performed half of his appointed journey: no wonder that his resolution failed him, at the prospect of so dangerous an enterprize, more likely, in all human probability, to terminate fatally to himself and his fellow-missionaries, than to be crowned with success, among a race of men who had no idea of any thing but war alone. But the orders of his superior were

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peremptory,

It certainly can reflect no dishonour on the ministers of the gospel of Christ, to say that the priests of the Heathens were no better than state-jugglers; whose great aim and end of their institution was to delude the people, and to keep them in endless darkness and bondage. The Christian dispensation, on the contrary, was intended to be a light, to lighten the world; it is a system of peace and universal good-will to all mankind: so far from exciting wars among men, it enjoins the love of even our enemies: those who had already engaged in the ranks of warfare, the founder of our religion (by the mouth of his forerunner) commands to do violence to no man, but to be content with their pay, without endeavouring to increase it by plunder, or extortion. More explicit than this he could not be on this subject: his kingdom was not of this world—and he assumed no temporal jurisdiction among men.

peremptory, and admitted of no excuse—"where the souls of men are at stake, (said the Roman pontiff, saint Gregory) difficulties vanish, and dangers are to be over-looked." Having no other alternative but to proceed on, and fulfil his journey, or suffer the censure of his superior, he chose the former. Such is the account handed down to us of the first planting of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons.

About the year 595, Ethelbert, king of Kent; and great-grandson of Hengist, married Bertha, the daughter of Caribert, king of France. This lady being a Christian, it was stipulated that she should be permitted the free exercise of her own religion. In consequence of which, she was attended by one Luidard, a person venerable both for his piety and learning; who converted many of the principal persons of the kingdom (of Kent) to the Christian faith. The king also conceived a favourable opinion of it from the piety and exemplary life of the queen.

These favourable circumstances being made known to Gregory the great, who then filled the papal chair at Rome, he sent Austin (or Augustine) a monk, and several of his fraternity to Britain, to preach and establish the gospel among the Saxons,

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new inhabitants of the isle. These landed in the isle of Thanet, in 597, and soon obtained permission from Ethelbert to preach the gospel among the Kentish Saxons. The king himself, in a short time, became a convert; and his example was quickly followed throughout his dominions. As his mission was prosperous, Augustine (or saint Augustine) returned to France in 598, where he obtained consecration at the hands of Etherius, archbishop of Arles, and returning the same year, he settled his see at Canterbury; where he sat sixteen years; and dying was buried in the porch of the church, which was afterwards called by his name. (See Le Neve.) The works of this apostle of Britain are in the hands of the public. I do not *recollect* that in any part of them he maintains the supremacy of the church of Rome, in direct terms; but that he does in several places assert the superior dignity thereof above all other churches.

Long before this time, even as early as the reign of Constantine, the bishop of Rome claimed not only a precedence to other bishops, on account of the superior dignity of imperial Rome, but also a pre-eminent *authority* in the church of Christ, on the

same score. In the year 529, the Justinian code was first published; wherein the papal claim was confirmed throughout the western empire. And in the year 534, the same emperor (Justinian) declared the pope the head of all churches: all were to be subject to his judgment; but himself to be judged by none. “Eum ecclesiarum omnium judicem, “ ipsum a nullo judicandum.—Non minus dicendus “ sit regnasse in spiritualibus (quamvis se subditum “ semper servum servorum dicerit) quam in temporalibus. Imperatores,” &c.* The Roman pontiff received an addition of power by the fall of the Roman empire in the west under Augustulus, A. D. 476; and a still greater when the exarchate of Ravenna was given to him by Pepin, A. D. 755, and confirmed by Charlemagne, A. D. 774, when he became a temporal prince.

The success of these missionaries was very great among a rude people; and would no doubt have been much greater, if they had adhered, in their endeavours, to the pure, unadulterated doctrines of the gospel of Christ, without blending any extraneous matter with it. The precepts of morality therein

* See Newton's Dissertat. Vol. 2. p. 323,

therein contained, the people could understand; and the arguments there adduced to enforce, or win men over to practise them, they could comprehend; because they are adapted to, and lie level with the reason of man: but all allusions to the superior sanctity, or superior dignity of the bishop of Rome, must rather tend to perplex their understanding, than to enlighten their minds.

The kingdom of Northumbria, or Northumberland, was the next that received the gospel, about the year 620, won over partly by the preaching of Paulinus, the first bishop of York, and partly by the influence of Ethelburga, the queen. Edwin, the king, being solicited by the Kentish king to become a Christian, he replied, that he would consult the most intelligent and enlightened of his friends and acquaintance, and propound the matter to them, and be regulated by their opinion. In the council, which he called accordingly, the idol priest declared that he believed their religion to be good for nothing; “for no man (said he) has applied himself to it
“more zealously than I have done; yet many obtain
“your favour in preference to me: if our gods were
“good for any thing I should have been more
H 3 prosperous.”

“prosperous.” The next speaker delivered his sentiments to the following effect—“the life of man, (said he) is like the transient visit of a sparrow at your winter feasts; for a short time he appears in this busy world, revels in hilarity, and is active in the enjoyment of existence. Soon the passing scenes terminate; and as of those which may have preceeded this life we are ignorant; so we know nothing of the events, if any there be, which are to follow. In this state of ignorance, of doubt, of alarm, I feel that if this new doctrine contains in it something more certain, and more consolatory, it deserves our assent.” (Vide Bede and Turner.) The consequence of this consultation was that Edwin embraced the faith of Christ. Paulinus he constituted bishop of Northumbria: and Bede, who mentions the transaction, nowhere says that his appointment was confirmed by the bishop of Rome.

The South-Saxons were among the last in the heptarchy to enjoy the light of the gospel; because they were engaged in continual wars, to defend themselves from the attacks of the West-Saxon kings.

About

About the year 650, Adelwalch mounted the South-Saxon throne, as mentioned before. He was attacked and taken prisoner by Wolfhur, or Wolfghur, king of Mercia: but upon his embracing the Christian religion the Mercian set him at liberty. At his return he exerted all his influence to plant the Christian religion among his people, who, as their understandings were more enlightened, and their manners less savage than their Saxon brethren, from the remaining effects of the mild reign of Cissa, and the mixture of Britons among them, we may believe, examined its evidences with candour, and embraced it with that readiness which truth has a right to from all its votaries. In Chichester, and throughout the kingdom, the heathen temples were consecrated to the worship of the true God. At the desire of Wilfrid the episcopal see was established in the peninsula of Selsea. The cathedral church, was built near the scite where the parish church now stands.* The residence of the king, in Chichester, was on the spot where the bishop's palace now stands: which had formerly been the residence of the Roman pro-

* Almost at the south-east corner of the church-lighten.

prætors, or lieutenants, as appears from several coins which were dug up there in the year 1727, when the bishop's palace was rebuilt; at which time also, they found a curious pavement which had been laid by the Romans. Near to the king's residence was a temple dedicated to Thor, or Jupiter, supposed to have been erected by Cissa, near, and it may be on the very place where the cathedral now stands. As Wilfrid did not reside in Selsea more than four years (Le Neve says four or five years) he cannot be supposed to have finished the church there. That care devolved upon Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and his successor Birthwald: the former of whom was consecrated in 668, and died in 690, as did the latter in 731, after having possessed that dignity thirty-eight years. Heylin, in his *help to history*, (page 84) says, that the see of Selsea was governed by the bishops of Winchester till the year 711, when Eadbert was appointed thereto (Isaacson) by the South-Saxon king, and consecrated the same year by archbishop Birthwald. In the troubled state of this kingdom, at that time, it is very probable that the bishops of Winchester did govern this diocese for
some

some years, by deputation from Theodore and Bithwald; but not by any permanent visitorial power conferred upon them.

During more than three centuries, the episcopate of Selsea exhibits no more than a catalogue of names, till the reign of the Conqueror, by whose authority the see (i. e. the place of the bishop's residence) was transferred from Selsea to Chichester. Agelrike the twenty-second bishop from Wilfrid, (both names included) succeeded in 1057; and was deprived by the king in 1070, and Stigand, or Stigandus, appointed in his room. This prelate was the last bishop of Selsea, and the first of Chichester. In what year the removal took place is not very clearly ascertained. Where records, the legitimate pillars of history, fail, we must grope our way in the dark, as well as we can, and follow probability, which is far from being a sure guide. It is likely to have happened in 1081 or 1802—the nation was then in a state of apparent outward tranquility. A provincial synod was then holden by Lanfrank, archbishop of Canterbury, for settling the affairs of the church, and it is probable that the regulation of removing
sees

sees from villages to cities, was then adopted. Before this time, from 1066, the nation was in a perturbed state: and the monarch too much agitated to attend to lesser matters of internal policy. At the same time he began the survey of the kingdom, called Domesday-book, because its evidence was decisive, and from its authority there was no appeal.

CHAPTER VIII.

STATE OF THE CITY FROM THE YEAR 800, TO THE TIME
OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST, A. D. 1066.

VERY early in the reign of Egbert, the South-Saxons were incorporated with their more potent neighbours of Wessex. Conscious of their inferiority and inability to maintain their independence as a separate state, it is most probable they readily accepted the tender of incorporation, that they might enjoy that security under the sceptre of Egbert which they could not otherwise hope to obtain. This union was honourable to Egbert, as it was established on conditions of justice and equality, and at the same time, advantageous to the people of both kingdoms.

Almost all the kingdoms of the heptarchy were governed by tributary kings, after they were forced to submit to the superior power of the West-Saxons. It is acknowledged by all historians that Egbert meditated and planned the reduction of all of them,
while

while he remained in the court of Charlemagne, the greatest prince in Europe, and who understood the art of government better than any of his cotemporaries. In this school, and that of adversity, the prince of Wessex imbibed, and thoroughly digested, those maxims of political prudence, which pave the way to empire, and confer on the diadem a dignity and lustre which power alone cannot impart. From the Mercians he met with a more resolute and determined opposition than from any other. Notwithstanding which, when his arms obtained the ascendancy over them, both justice and prudence pointed out to him to use lenity towards them, and to win them over to him by mild and conciliatory measures. He listened to the wishes of the people, and permitted them to be governed by their own kings, and subject to their own laws and institutions, on their paying him a very moderate annual tribute, as an acknowledgement that they held their power in subordination to him, and dependent on the crown of Wessex. The same measures he adopted with the East-Angles, the Northumbrians. and, though no mention be made in the annals of the time, that he granted the like indulgence to the South-Saxons, we may,

may, I think, fairly conclude that he did : especially as Sussex was the first acquisition that he annexed to his crown. But be this as it may, we know that his son and successor Ethelwolf, in the first year of his reign, gave the government of Sussex, Kent, and Essex, to his eldest son Athelstan, with the title and dignity of king.* The place of his residence is nowhere mentioned; but it is most probable that it was at different places.†

The state and population of Chichester at this period, can nowhere be ascertained. We may however, reasonably suppose that it was in a flourishing condition for the time we treat of, if we take into the

* See Saxon. Chron.

† We must be careful not to confound this prince with another of the same name, the son of Edward the elder, whom he succeeded on the throne of England, A. D. 925. The son of Ethelwolf was raised to the royal dignity by his father in the year 845, and was a person of considerable activity, a quality which he neither inherited nor learned of his father. From circumstances, too tedious to mention, it appears that he dwelt principally in Chichester. He attacked the Danes who landed on this coast, several times; and was, for the most part, victorious. No farther traits of his history are to be found, how long he lived, nor where, nor in what manner he ended his days. His father Ethelwolf, died A. D. 857, in Chichester, and was buried in Steyning.—(See Asserius and William of Malms.)

the account that for three centuries it was the residence of the South-Saxon kings—the resort of the principal persons of the state—the centre of wealth, and of the arts—and the chief emporium in Britain. For reasons mentioned before, I conclude that the kingdom of the South-Saxons, though the least and the weakest in the heptarchy, was the most civilized and the most enlightened. The generality of the inhabitants were a commercial people ; and, though always surrounded, and often involved in war, carried on a considerable traffic with the Gauls and Franks, more than any other part of the island. (See Sax. Chron.) And commerce, while it confines itself to its own province, and does not degenerate into speculation, nor monopoly, tends to enlighten and humanize mankind.

At this time the coasts of Britain were very grievously infested by a race of ferocious and destructive rovers, called Danes ; but who consisted of both Danes and Norwegians. It would fill a volume to mention all the descents which these merciless freebooters made upon these coasts for more than two centuries. If they conquered in their attacks, the depredations they committed, and the carnage they

they made, were unbounded: if they were beaten, they retired for the present; but soon returned to the assault with fresh succours. The first time of their appearance was in the year 787, in the third year of the reign of Brithric, king of Wessex, in whose dominions they then landed, plundered the inhabitants, and murdered the officers whom the king sent to enquire who they were and what they wanted.* The first attempt they made to settle in England, was A. D. 852—when, after many battles fought with various success, they landed in the isle of Thanet; which they fortified, and kept possession of for several years: nor were they ever wholly expelled from Britain before their leaders made themselves masters of the crown of England. Even Alfred the great, though he reigned in the hearts of a people, who justly revered him for the many great and good qualities which he possessed, which were all exerted to promote their prosperity, and secure their happiness, found it necessary to accommodate matters with them, and concede to them the quiet possession of no inconsiderable part of the kingdom.

As

* Henry, vol. III. p. 58.

As no part of Britain escaped the unwelcome visits of these merciless pirates, there can be no doubt the county of Sussex, and its metropolis the city of Chichester, came in for their full share of the general calamity. The valour and patriotism of the men of Chichester, in the days of Alfred, is thus recorded in Milton's history of that reign—"The Danes
 " returning by sea from the siege of Exeter, and in
 " their way landing on the coast of Sussex, the men
 " of Chichester sallied out, and slew of them many
 " hundreds, taking also some of their ships."* One monument of their hostile visits, a Danish camp, still remains on the top of St. Roche's hill, a little more than four miles from the city, of a circular form, the fashion which is known to have been used by them: the date of its construction, I believe, is not on record. If I might be excused a conjecture, I should fix it in the summer or harvest of A. D. 992, in the reign of Ethelred, surnamed the unready. A reign than which there are few more calamitous in the English history. In the year 981, a few of these pirates plundered the town of Southampton. A. D. 991, they disgorged from their ships a numerous
 army

* See Milton's Hist. of Eng. small quarto, p. 211.

army on the coast of Essex, which defeated and slew duke Brithnot, who acted as lieutenant of the county. Ethelred, instead of revenging this insult, gave the victorious robbers a bribe of ten thousand pounds to depart. The next year they returned (as might have been expected) in equal force; and landing "on the southern coast, penetrated a considerable way into the country, and left their fleet in the harbour,"* in perfect security from all danger, except that of the elements. If this conjecture be right, the place of their landing was the harbour between Selsea and Pagham: from whence they detached a numerous and select band to plunder Chichester; while the others scoured and desolated the country for many miles. As the city was duly fortified, it is not probable that the attempt against it succeeded; as it has not attracted the notice of history.

To awe the city and country, and to induce Ethelred to fulfil the object of their expedition, they encamped on the forementioned spot; where they remained, like a dark pestilential cloud, till they were warned, by a traitor in the English cabinet, to
 I depart.

* See Sax. Chron. and William of Malm.

depart. Instead of bribing these murderers to spare his people, Ethelred, by the advice of his counselors, had determined to block up their fleet in the harbour where they lay. Of this determination the Danes received intelligence by the treachery of Ealfric, duke of Mercia, whom the king had appointed to a joint command in the English navy. This man warned the enemies of his country of the danger which hung over their heads; by which means they made a timely retreat, with very little loss; after remaining unmolested several months in England.* In the summer of 998, they landed again in the south-west of England, where they committed dreadful devastations.†

In the year 1002, all the Danes in England, Northumbria and East Angles excepted, were cruelly and shamefully massacred. They had, indeed, behaved with great insolence, and treated the English with the utmost contempt: but nothing can justify the indiscriminate murder of any people. The weak, and cowardly Ethelred, at the instigation of some infamous persons about him, conceived the horrid design, and accordingly dispatched circular letters to every

* See Sax. Chron. —† Ibid.

every part of the kingdom, except the before-mentioned places, and the thirteenth day (or rather night) of November, was fixed upon for the completion of this detestable act. The bloody mandate was obeyed with the most rigorous punctuality. Neither age nor sex were exempted from the rage of an incensed dastardly people: the Christian and the Pagan shared the same fate.* This horrid act of perfidious cruelty was not long unrevenged by Swein, king of Denmark. In 1014, the pusillanimous king of England fled from the avenging sword of the

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Danes

* This is the account of this horrid tragedy, as it is handed down to us by almost ALL the English historians; notwithstanding which, the truth of it may reasonably be doubted: we can hardly believe that Ethelred was so abandoned, so lost to every feeling of humanity, as to plan a deed so atrocious: and if that objection can be got over; the difficulty, not to say the impossibility of putting the design into execution, forms an obstacle against the belief of this story insurmountable to every common degree of credulity. As so many were privy to the cruel mandate of assassinating so many unsuspecting persons, surely the horrid plot would have transpired, by some means or other, before the perpetration of it! To believe otherwise is to suppose that the king, his court, and every one of his subjects, were fiends indeed of the very worst description! That a similar massacre afterwards (in 1282) was perpetrated in Sicily is too well vouched to be disputed; but the climate is different, and so was the religion, at least at the time of Ethelred.

Danes to Normandy, where he found an asylum in the court of Richard the second, and Swein seized upon the throne of England, of which he was proclaimed king.

During the reign of Ethelred, he paid several subsidies to the invading Danes to induce them to depart. The money was levied upon the people in a tax called the danegelt (or danegeldt) and was the first money-tax raised in Britain since the departure of the Romans, containing a space of more than five hundred years.

In 1016, Canute the Dane, ascended the throne of England, which he obtained by conquest: the two sons of Edmund Ironside of the Saxon line were then alive, but their title was disregarded.

The condition of the people of England at this time, was truly deplorable. No mathematical proposition admits a clearer demonstration than this, that war is destructive of the prosperity of the people—and that peace is the only element in which their happiness can be consummated. The long and bloody wars, in which they had been cruelly engaged for many years, about the succession, &c. were followed by their natural consequence, famine; and
the

the miserable people sunk into an untimely grave, for want of a sufficiency of the necessaries of life. Amidst the tumult and horrors of war, the cultivation of the land neither was, nor could be duly attended to. The enjoyments or sufferings of the great body of the people, in the calculations of the great and mighty, too often, are considerations of but trivial import, and no further regarded than as they themselves are affected by the one or the other, and even the historian, who is no way interested in the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, will fill pages in describing a battle, a scene of human slaughter, where hecatombs of simple men are immolated on the altar of pride and ambition, and then very gravely acquaints his readers, in one short line—"this year there raged a very grievous famine in England." In the annals of the time we are informed, that there was a dreadful famine in England, A. D. 974, and another, equally grievous, three years after; but we are not told from what cause they originated, nor to what height the calamity reached. Sometimes (tho' rarely) a little glimmering light is thrown upon this subject: in a famine, which took place A. D. 1043, in the second year of the reign of Edward the Con-

fessor, we are told that wheat was sold for sixty Saxon pennies the quarter,* which contained as much silver as fifteen of our shillings, and were equal in value to eight pounds of our money ;† a price so extravagant that it must have involved the poor, and the class next above them, in the greatest distress.

As we have no positive account that the Danes ever ravaged within the walls of Chichester, we therefore conclude that they did not. This reasoning I am sensible is not conclusive ; but however that may be, the devastations they committed in the country around for many miles, were equally ruinous and destructive to the city, the carnage alone excepted. Instead of carrying provisions from the villages to the town, for the daily supply of the market, the affrighted peasant fled thither for sanctuary from those ruthless barbarians, increased the number of its inhabitants, and thereby added to their miseries, and accelerated their ruin.‡

From

* See Sax. Chron. p. 65, 123.

† I make my computation from the value of money in England in the year 1792, and not at the present time, when the enormous emissions of paper currency have rendered the comparative value of it difficult to be ascertained, and of very transient duration.

‡ About the year 897, after Alfred had either expelled the Danes, or reduced those who remained to a state of subjection,

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From the union of the heptarchy, in the beginning of the ninth century, to almost the end of the eleventh, when the episcopal see was removed to Chichester, the city had very greatly declined in wealth and population; both its trade and manufactures were reduced to a very low ebb. This consequence it will readily be admitted, must unavoidably have followed from the history and complexion of the times.

he set himself, with the utmost activity to repair the monasteries, churches, and fortifications, throughout the kingdom, which the Danes had demolished or greatly defaced, during the many years they had infested this country. In the number of fortifications which he repaired, we may reasonably include the walls, &c. of this city.



CHAPTER IX.

OF THE POPULATION, CIVIL POLICY OF THE CITY ; VALUE OF
LAND, STATE OF AGRICULTURE, &c. IN THE COUNTY.

FROM Nennius we learn, that in the seventh century, there were only twenty-eight towns in all England, and very few of them populous—and from Doomsday-book it would appear, that none of them except London, (and it may be Winchester) contained ten thousand inhabitants: by far the greatest part of them are said to contain only a few hundreds. York, the greatest city in that record, consisted of only eight hundred and seventy-eight inhabited houses, and the number of its inhabitants could not be supposed to exceed four thousand;—in Exeter the number of houses mentioned was only three hundred and fifteen—in Warwick two hundred and twenty-three—and in Chichester only two hundred and eighty-three and a half—in which last the number of inhabitants, reckoning five to a house, would
barely

barely be 1420. It seems indeed probable, that the population of South-Britain in the times of the heptarchy, was not greater than it had been before the Roman invasion; and not near so high as before the coming of the Saxons.* But I shall show by and by that the account in Domesday-book is not a proper ground for calculating the population of any place in particular, or of the country in general. The number of inhabitants in Chichester without doubt was far higher than fourteen or fifteen hundred, according to that mode of computation; though no doubt can be made that it had greatly declined from the time of the Romans. While it was the residence of the South-Saxon kings, it was the centre of commerce, and of the arts, which were then known.—The manufacture of iron is of very early date indeed in this county; and most probably was first established by the Romans: nor do I think it an extravagant supposition that of them the natives first learned the art of making needles, and under their protection and encouragement, raised the trade to some eminence. I am aware that Stowe, in his Chronicle, says that the art of making needles was first

* Henry, Vol. III. p. 319.

first taught in London, in the reign of queen Mary, by a black from Spain; that before that the English knew nothing of it. But this is a very unlikely matter, the invention of it must have been coeval with the wearing of apparel, and the knowledge of it almost as general. All that the black did in the affair, we may well enough suppose, was to finish his work in a better manner than they knew before, for it is added, that he did not choose to teach his art, and therefore when he died it was lost. The Chichester needles were prized not only in England, but in other parts—and we cannot think that they could have obtained a reputation and demand in the course of only seventy or eighty years, if the manufacturers had known nothing of the art before. This article of trade would of course give employment to a great many hands—but the houses they inhabited would be too mean to be taxed, and therefore would not be taken into the account in the Dooms day-book.

It is not probable that either the manufacture of glass, or the making of malt, were known in Chichester, till after the Norman conquest, especially the latter.

The Anglo-Saxons were divided into four classes; the lowest, and most numerous of which was that of the slaves—secondly, the frizalin, or freedmen, who had been slaves, but had purchased, or any other way obtained their liberty—thirdly, the cearls, (karles) or yeomanry, constituted a middle-class between the labourers and mechanics (who, were generally slaves) on the one hand, and the nobility on the other—and fourthly, the thanes, who were the companions of their princes, and their attendants. Of these there were several ranks or degrees. A thane, who presided over a town or a shire, was called an eolderman: and in the Danish time an eorl or earl; and was always chosen by the freemen, at the shiregemot, or court, of the division over which he presided: both the civil and military government of which, by the custom, and afterwards by the laws of the Saxons, were vested in him. When he appeared at the head of the military, he was called dux, duke, or heretogen.* In the most antient time of the Anglo-Saxons, the office of earl was not hereditary, but elective.† And though in process of time, they were commonly succeeded

by

* Spelman's Glossary, p. 288 —† Ibid, p. 141, 142.

by their eldest sons, this was occasioned by the increasing power of the nobility, and not by any formal change of the constitution, even to this day. Some of the great thanes, we know, became possessed of two, or three, or more eorldoms, rendering them too powerful for subjects, and enabling the son of one of them (eorl Godwin) to usurp the throne.

In each county the administration of justice was in the eorl, assisted by an officer under him, called shiregerieve, likewise chosen by the freemen at the said court.

The shiregemot was holden twice every year: at which every freeman in the county, not only had a right to be present, but was in duty *bounden* to attend. In them the causes of the church were first determined, next the pleas of the crown, and last of all the controversies of private persons. After a cause was opened and clearly understood, and evidence produced on both sides, it was determined by the votes of *all the freemen present*; which votes were taken by the lahman; and then the eorl (or in his absence the shiregerieve) pronounced the judgment of the court.

While

While the Saxons remained in Germany, their territories were divided into districts, which we may term shires and hundreds—and we may suppose that they adopted a similar plan in this country—and moreover we are informed by Bede,* that such divisions were made before the union of the heptarchy. It is not, therefore, strictly true that Alfred the great, was the first that divided England into shires, hundreds, &c. All that that great man did was to make a more regular division of it than had been made before.

The agriculture of the South-Saxons, and indeed of all England, during this whole period, was in the most untoward condition. The Saxons, before their coming into Britain, committed the cultivation of their land to women and slaves. After their coming hither they subsisted on plunder for many years—but on the extirpation and expulsion of the Britons, when they had gotten the quiet possession of the country, and had no longer any enemy to plunder, they were then under the necessity of cultivating the land for their support. As they thought this employment too mean and ignoble for themselves

* Lib. V. C. IV.

selves to undertake, they therefore devolved it upon their slaves. The princes and great men, in the division of the conquered land, got the greatest share, part of which they kept in their own hands, and had it tilled under the direction of a bailif: the rest they let to ceorls at moderate rents, which were generally paid in kind. By the laws of Ina, who lived in the end of the seventh, and beginning of the eighth century, a farm consisting of ten hides,* was to pay the following rent, ten casks of honey, three hundred loaves of bread, (at stated times) twelve casks of strong ale, thirty casks of small ale, two oxen, ten wethers, ten geese, twenty hens, ten cheeses, one cask of butter, five salmon, and one hundred eels.† In some places the rent was to be paid in wheat, rye, oats, malt, hogs, sheep, &c. according to the nature of the farm, or the custom of the place.‡ Money rents were not altogether unknown in England during the heptarchy, but were very rare: and this custom (of paying rents in kind) continued after the conquest during the whole reign of

* A hide of land contained about three hundred and thirty-five statute acres——See Domesday Book.

† Leges Sax. p. 25———‡ Spelman's Glossary.

of William I.—“and I myself (says the author of the “black book in the exchequer) have conversed with “several old people who had seen the royal tenants “paying their rents in several kinds of provisions, “at the king’s court.”*

The low rent of lands is a certain proof of the very great imperfection of agriculture; and it appears from the records of the time, that there was very little alteration in them at the Norman conquest. It is true, that the proprietors of land were restrained by law from letting their lands at higher rents to the ceorls, because they were freemen; and therefore (see Laws of Ina) had a right to be treated with indulgence, “and to enjoy the productions of the earth in plenty and comfort.” It may therefore be alledged that the low rent which the land bore is no proof of the imperfect state of agriculture. But the price which it sold for will be admitted to be decisive on this head. The ordinary price of an acre of the best land then, in the tenth century, was sixteen Saxon pennies, (about four shillings of our money) and equal in value to little more than two guineas of our present money (in 1802); at the same period
twenty

* Liber niger Scaccarii, Lib. I. C. VII.

twenty fat wethers were worth twenty Saxon shillings.* So that four sheep were equal in value to an acre of the best land. This is so different from the present comparative value of land, that it would be incredible if it were not supported by the most irrefragable evidence.† The very frequent famines, which afflicted the country, before the incursions of the Danes, during the reigns of the Danish kings, and after the Norman conquest, afforded melancholy proofs of the wretched state of agriculture in those days. They ploughed, sowed, and harrowed, it is true, but all was done by wretched slaves, who were very little interested in the success of their labours, and therefore performed them in a negligent, superficial manner. Of manure they made but little use, and that too injudiciously. For many years the plough which the Saxons made use of had but one handle. Their principal grain was rye, barley and oats, and but little wheat, till many years after the conquest. At what time the Saxons first made use of the water-mill to grind their corn, I have not been able to find out. At first, and it may be for many years,

* Note five Saxons pennies made one Saxon shilling.

† Hist. Brit. XV. a Tho. Gall lom. I. p. 471, &c.—Sax. Chron. variis locis.

years, they ground it on an hand-mill, or quern, such as they use now in Shetland, and in some places of the highlands of Scotland. By the laws of Ethelbert, king of Kent, a mulct of twenty-five shillings, was imposed upon any man "who should debauch the king's grinding-maid." In 1086, when the survey of the kingdom was completed, there were more than one hundred and fifty water-mills in Sussex, rated at twenty-five pounds and three-quarters—as appears by Domesday-book.

When Wilfrid first came into Sussex, the inhabitants knew not the way of catching fish, except eels, though they possessed so extensive a tract of sea-coast; and were by him instructed in this useful knowledge. "The bishop gained the affections (says "Bede) of the people of Sussex to a very wonderful degree, by teaching them this profitable art, "and they listened the more willingly to his preaching, as they received from him so great a temporal "benefit." After the Christian religion was fully established in the country, and the modes of the Romish church began to be adopted by the English, the trade of fishing became necessary on a religious account; as both clergy and laity lived a good part

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of

of the year on a fish diet. But we must observe that it was practised only by slaves, who were brought up to that employment. A considerable part of the rent of farms on the sea-coast, and those adjoining to rivers, were paid in fish, which obliged the ceorls who occupied them, to bring up some of their slaves in that way.

At a time when agriculture was so imperfect in England, it cannot be supposed that gardening had made great progress: and yet there is sufficient evidence that gardens were cultivated, for culinary purposes, in the times of the Romans, Britons, and Saxons; that cabbages were raised, that fruit trees were planted, and even grafting practised towards the end of the sixth century.*

• Hist. Eliens. apud Gale. Lib. II. C. II.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE DWELLING HOUSES OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS—THEIR CHURCHES BUILT OF WOOD—FIRST STONE CHURCH IN ENGLAND—BUILT BY FOREIGN ARCHITECTS—INTRODUCTION OF GLASS INTO ENGLAND—OF THE NECESSARY AND ORNAMENTAL ARTS—POETRY AND MUSIC CULTIVATED BY THE SAXONS—OF CÆDMON, THE POET—FRAGMENT OF HIS WORKS.—STATE OF TRADE, EXPORT AND IMPORT—OF MONEY—COINAGE, &c.

AS the latter expeditions of the Saxons into Britain were undertaken evidently with the intention of settling here, it is matter of surprise that they set themselves to destroy and demolish the greatest part of the castles and principal buildings which they found in the country, instead of sparing them for their own accommodation. Some of these structures were of such solidity, as to have remained even unto this day, if they had not been demolished.* The

K 2

dwelling

* The famous structure of ARTHUR'S OVEN, on the banks of the river Carron, was almost entire when it was taken down, A. D. 1742.

dwelling houses of the Anglo-Saxons in general were mean, uncomfortable edifices; and even their nobility had no turn, nor any wish for magnificent buildings; but spent, or rather murdered, their great revenues in low and inconvenient mansions. Though the art of making glass was introduced into this country in the seventh century, no use was made of that elegant and commodious article in the houses of the thanes during this period, and but very rarely till long after.*

There was a time (says Bede) when there was not a stone church in the country. “Finan, the second bishop of Holy-island, built a church there A. D. 652, for a cathedral, which was not of stone but of wood, and covered with reeds.” The first cathedral of York was constructed of the same materials. A stone church, even in the eighth century, was a very uncommon thing, and looked upon with wonder. So late as the beginning of the twelfth century, the first cathedral church of this diocese, (Chichester) which was finished A. D. 1108, was built almost entirely of wood. Of what materials the second fabric was made does not clearly appear. The first was burned the 9th of May, 1114, and the second

* Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, Vol. I. p. 90.

second finished and consecrated in 1222. Considering the time it was in building, it is most probable that it was of the same materials; especially if we take into the account that it too, with the houses of the clergy, and almost the whole city, was destroyed by fire in the year 1180.

The cathedral church of Hexham, in the kingdom of Northumbria, built by saint Wilfrid,* if not the very first, is among the first churches in England built of stone. A particular account of it may be found in the life of Wilfrid, written by Eddius, his biographer, or rather his panegyrist. This edifice, of which some vestiges still remain, was built by masons, and other artificers, brought from Rome. About the same time the famous monastery of Wermouth was built by Benedict Biscop, abbot thereof, by foreign (Roman) artificers; who “when the work
“ was far advanced, sent agents into France to procure some glass-makers; a kind of artificers quite
“ unknown in England, and to bring them over to
“ glaze the windows of his church and monastery.

K 3

“ These

* Sometime between the years 670 and 680, the precise date I cannot determine. The fabric it is probable was intended by Wilfrid for a monastery, and afterwards converted by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, into a cathedral church.

“ These agents were successful, and brought several
 “ glass-makers with them ; who not only performed
 “ the work required by Benedict, but instructed the
 “ English in the art of making glass for windows,
 “ lamps, drinking-glasses, and other uses.”* From
 hence it appears that the principal edifices in the
 kingdom were built by foreign artificers, and that
 the art of making glass was introduced here by the
 above-mentioned abbot, A. D. 674.

These edifices were constructed not in the
 Gothic model, (which afterwards was adopted in
 England, and of which many noble specimens re-
 main to this day) but were rude imitations of the
 Roman architecture ; low and gloomy, the walls un-
 proportionally thick, the windows few and small,
 with semicircular arches at top, included in squares,
 or long-squares.† Though glass windows were thus
 introduced into England, and also the art of making
 glass ; glass-windows were confined to religious
 houses, and the use of glass-ware to the houses of
 the great, till after the conquest.

The arts of the carpenter, joiner, and cabinet-
 maker, we may suppose must have been in no flow-
 rishing

* Bedæ Hist. Abbat. Weremouth.——† Archæologia
 Antiqua, p. 39, &c.

fishiſhing condition. It was a rule among the Anglo-Saxons, that no man ſhould undertake to hold a plough who could not make one. The trades of ſhoe-maker, taylor, and weaver, were all diſcharged by ſlaves; and therefore, and for other obvious reaſons, muſt have been in a very imperfect ſtate among them.

The metallic arts (if the expreſſion be not improper) were brought to much greater perfection in the period now under conſideration. Plumbery muſt have been very well underſtood; as many of their principal edifices were covered with lead. The manufacturers in iron were much eſteemed, and greatly encouraged; becauſe they made ſwords and other warlike inſtruments. The clergy were enjoined, by their canons, to learn ſome mechanical trade, and “to practiſe therein, in their leiſure hours; that no part of their time might be ſpent unprofitably.” The famous ſaint Dunſtan, arch-biſhop of Canterbury, was the compleateſt black-smith, brazier, goldſmith, and engraver, of his time.* He died A. D. 988, in the ninth year of the reign of Ethelred II.

However incredible it may appear, there is the most authentic proof that gold and silver were wrought into plate, coronets, bracelets, and various ornaments, both before and after the reign of Alfred the great. It is true, many of the artists were foreigners; but by no means all of them, nor yet the greatest part. The most beautiful caskets, in which the relics of the saints were kept, were called on the continent of Europe—"Opera Anglica,"—English work. Even before the end of the seventh century, the art of embroidery was understood and practised in England. The four sisters of king Athelstan, were celebrated by historians, for their great industry and skill in spinning, weaving and needlework. A modern historian (Henry) informs us, that "a monument of this nature is still preserved in the cathedral church of Bayeux, executed by Matilda, wife of William, duke of Normandy, and afterwards king of England: a web of linen, only nineteen inches in breadth, and sixty-seven yards in length; in which is embroidered the history of the conquest of England, beginning with the embassy of Harold to the Norman court, A. D. 1065, and ending with his death at the battle of Hastings,

“Hastings, A. D. 1066.”* The truth is, the fine arts, which were executed by the sons and daughters of freedom, were brought many of them, to an astonishing degree of perfection; but the others, which fell to the lot of the slaves, were done in a bungling, slovenly manner.

The antient Saxons had some knowledge in the art of carving in wood, and cutting in stone, the images of their gods, Woden, Thor, &c. in a heavy, unskilful manner: but of painting they had no knowledge. The first idea they seem to have conceived of it, they derived from Rome, from the English monks who resorted thither, and brought with them the pictures of the saints, &c. Even so early as the seventh century, the abbey of Weremouth was decorated with several pictures of the saints, which the abbot brought from Rome for that purpose. Nor was it long before the English (especially the clergy who had a genius for it) applied themselves to the study of painting; and became no mean proficient. At first the pictures were introduced as helps to devotion; for those who could not read (no small proportion, at that time, in every assembly:) and
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* Henry's Hist. of Eng. vol. IV. p. 135.

it is on this footing that venerable Bede maintains their usefulness. We are likewise informed, that towards the latter part of their history, the Anglo-Saxons excelled in that curious art, the art of painting on glass.

But the reader, who is not in some degree acquainted with the antient history of the northern nations, will be still more surprised to learn that the Saxons, whom I have all along represented, and truly represented, as a rude, uncultivated, and ferocious people, did nevertheless cultivate, with great assiduity and equal success, the sister arts of music and poetry. The propensity to these, even in the savage breast, is not inexplicable, but the explication would lead me too far astray from my subject. I must therefore only observe, that the credit of history is not to be shaken by metaphysical difficulties, drawn from the nature of man. The fact is undeniable, and rests upon the united evidence of all the antient historians of the northern nations, Olaus Wormii, *Literatura Danica*, Bede, William of Malmesbury, the Saxon Chronicle, *Anglia Sacra*, Asserius, *Northern Antiquities*, and others that might be mentioned. The poetic fire was not extinguished, nor cooled.

cooled, by the rigours of the north, but burned as intensely under the arctic circle as in the temperate zone. The regions of eternal snow were warmed with the voice of melody, cheered by the harp of the musician, and every mountain, hill, and dale became vocal. The truth is (however incredible it may appear) that Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and even Iceland, were the favourite seats of the muses at this period. "All the inhabitants of the north (says Olaus) composed in rhymes, and verses, accounts of all things that deserved to be remembered either at home or abroad, that they might the more easily be instilled into the minds of men, the more effectually handed down to posterity." To these songs we are indebted, (though the songs themselves are vanished from existence) for many particulars in the most antient part of our history. Some of our historians honestly confess that they had no other authority for what they relate. The fame of Cædmon, the South-Saxon poet, of the seventh century, though the greatest part of his divine strains are lost, will be coeval with time itself: will last (to borrow from his own beautiful expression) till the earth itself (whose creation

creation and dissolution he sung) “shall *fly from its orbit and disappear.*” This sublime poet of nature, this prince of poets, of Anglo-Saxon poets at least, was born in Thorney island, about the year 660—by Bede we are told that he was the son of indigent parents, who lived *in a small island in the south of England*—that about the age of twenty he went and attended saint Wilfrid, who instructed him in the Christian religion, and expounded to him the precepts of the gospel—with him he removed to the north, and taking the cowl, lived and died in the abbey of Streaneshalch, (Whitby.) The fragment of his strains which remains, was preserved by Alfred the great; who himself was not only the best of kings, but an excellent musician, and a poet above mediocrity.*

We

* The following lines are part of a fragment of his Creation, “don into Ynglysse bye Ar. H.”—perhaps Arthur Hall: he was a person of fortune, a member of parliament, a poet and antiquarian; and lived in the reign of Henry the Seventh, or Henry the Eighth.

Whan thae Zupreme, egyrte wyth heofenbye treyne,
Yn nombre mo then glystenyng stars zat shayne,
Woll'd thae creashon of thys wardle beloe;
Wyth maun and beste, and ilka arb zat groe:

Thac

We are told by historians, that before the conquest, the Anglo-Saxons carried on a considerable trade with almost every nation in Europe: but as they have not informed us of what particular articles that trade consisted, either of export or import, very little can here be said on that head. The vast sums which Ethelred paid to the Danes to induce them to leave the country, is a sufficient proof that the export trade was then, or had, at some former period, been considerable, to enable him to raise the
very

Thae wyd ympyream, whilk nae thocht mae bounde,
Frac whych thae strongist thocht tornes beck astownd,
Feilt thae dred wol; onyussal moshens hens
'Throchowt thae 'xtent onlymited commens.

Ye zonnes of Godd, zat sawe thys gloryess seine,
And fyl'd wyth rapter showted owt amayne,
Oh lyt my mynd, and teeche my 'spyryn vers
Thae wondeirs of creashon to rehers.

Nae, ceas my zowl, ne angils mocht declayre
Thae warks of hym, hoose warkmanzip theye aire.
Presum ne thow hys coonsyls to 'xplair,
Zynk down efore hys thron, and dreim nae moir.

The gentleman who favoured me with the above informed me that he had in several places reduced the measure to some kind of regularity; as he apprehended the lines would not otherwise have been commonly intelligible.

very heavy contributions necessary for that purpose : and, on the other hand, if we reflect that for almost three centuries before the Norman invasion, the sea was covered with the pirates of the northern nations, we shall find no small difficulty in conceiving how that trade could be maintained. That the kings of England endeavoured as much as lay in their power to protect the trade of the people, there can be no doubt : but if they were unable to defend them from the depredations of the Danes by land, how could they protect them at sea? Unable to reconcile these difficulties, with considerable regret we must leave this part of history under the same darkness in which we found it. Athelstan made many wise regulations in order to increase the naval power and commerce of the nation : “ if a merchant make
 “ three prosperous voyages over the high sea, with
 “ a ship or cargo of his own, he shall be advanced
 “ to the dignity of a thane.” He also established mints in all the principal towns in England, in which number Chichester was included, and so was Lewes. Edgar the peaceable, also, according to the monkish accounts of him, (which ought to be read with caution) was a great encourager of commerce. From
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the laws of Ethelred the unready, (as quoted by Brompton and Anderson) it appears, that in that reign, and probably before, there was a company of German merchants, called *the emperor's men*, residing in London, who were obliged to pay to the king twice a year, for his protection, two pieces of grey cloth, and one piece of brown, ten pounds of pepper, five pair of gloves, and two casks of wine. This is probably the company which was afterwards known by the name of *the merchants of the steel yard*. Canute the great, being a wise and magnanimous prince, gave great encouragement to the commerce of the country ; as we find recorded in Wilkins's *Leges Saxonicae* : with impartial hand protecting the industrious trader ; not fostering a race of monopolisers to bolster up his own power, and pick the pockets of the people. It is with considerable concern we read in the same collection, an account of a regulation made by Edgar—"that thirty three honest
 " men should be chosen in large towns, and twelve
 " in small towns, to be witnesses of all bargains in
 " those towns ; and that no man should either buy
 " or sell but before two or three of those chosen
 " witnesses." A sad proof that little integrity was

to be found, or at least that little mutual confidence obtained among the members of society.

Slaves constituted a principal article of the export trade of the Anglo-Saxons. Unhappy men, women and children, were carried out of the island, and exposed for sale in all the markets of Europe.* When a thane, or ceorl, was possessed of more *stock* than he wanted, he sold the overplus to some slave-merchant, who, as there was little demand at home, generally exported them. The mildest fate that awaited the prisoners taken in the wars between the Britons and Saxons, the Saxons and Danes, was to be sold to the slave-merchants, who generally found a ready market for them in Spain and Africa, among the Saracens.† This disgraceful traffic continued to even the end of this period, as we learn from William of Malmsbury, who adduces some shameful instances of “people selling their own nearest relations for money: a custom (he adds) which we see practised in our own days.”

Other articles of exportation were cattle, sheep, and hogs, and sheep's wool. English horses, which were universally admired, both for their shape and strength,

* Bede, variis locis. —† Murat. Antiq.

strength, formed another article of exportation, some part of the present period. By a law of king Athelstan, it was ordained—"that no man should export
 "any horses beyond the sea, except such as he gave in
 "presents." This resolution gave a check to this branch of trade. In some records "wheat" is mentioned as an article of exportation; but this, considering the state of agriculture in the country, if it be not a mistake, must have been very rare.

Concerning the articles that were imported into England, in this period, our information is far from being compleat. Books, especially on religious subjects, formed no inconsiderable part. They bore a very high price, and were in great request. The relics, pictures, and images of saints, were imported in great quantities; and formed a very lucrative trade. This traffic was managed by the priests; who likewise imported the sacred vestments, altar-cloths, frankincense, &c. The English merchants visited Venice, and other cities of Italy, from whence they imported gold, silk, linen, drugs, spiceries; precious stones, and other articles from Asia. Wines were imported from France and Spain; cloth, of various kinds, from Flanders; and from Scandinavia,

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furs,

furs, whale-oil, ropes, iron, &c. In short, the import trade was such as to furnish any of the inhabitants, who could pay for them, with all the commodities that were then made use of in Europe.

Farther—we may gather from a careful view of the history of the times, that the balance of trade was in favour of this country. The depredations and exactions of the Danes—the tax of Peter-pence, and other monies, annually sent to Rome—the expensive journeys of the princes, prelates, thanes and others, into foreign countries—these continual drains must have carried off all the money in the kingdom, and left it exhausted, if fresh supplies had not arrived from some quarter: the great quantity of foreign coin that was current in England, and in which all the great payments were made,* is another evidence of the same thing. A great deal of gold and silver was converted at this time into plate, jewels, and ornaments, for the churches and monasteries;† and there can be no doubt but the money coined in England at this time increased.

How soon after their coming into England, the Saxons began to coin money, is not clearly decided.

By

* Clarke on Coins——† Idem.

By a careful perusal of their laws it will appear, that it was at a very early date. In some of the laws of Kent, A. D. 571, we find their mulcts were to be paid in shillings. Now the shilling was not a Roman coin, but a Saxon. When gold and silver first became the medium of barter, they were paid by weight, without any impression on them: and the first impressions were only expressive of their weight. After they came to be coined, with some device or legend on them, every coined piece was to contain a certain regulated weight of these metals. Thus the Saxon pound, though then as now, only a *denomination* of money, consisted of as many pieces of money, as if thrown into the scale would have weighed a pound troy, nummulary weight. The money pound with them, (as with the other nations of Europe) was different from, and less than the commercial pound; containing no more than eleven ounces and five penny-weights, troy: so that their pound, instead of being of the value of three pounds, at five shillings per ounce of our money, was worth only two pounds, sixteen shillings, and three pence. The Saxon shilling, not merely nominal, but a real coin, was the forty-eighth part of their (money)

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pound,

pound, or an hundred and twelve grains and a half; and their *pennie* (also real) the fifth part of their shilling, or twenty two and an half grains, troy weight. So that their money pound, instead of containing 5760 grains, consisted of only 5400 grains, or fifteen penny-weights less than the real pound troy. According to Mr. Clarke's treatise on coins, the Saxon money pound was exactly the same as the antient Greek money pound, from whom, (that accurate writer says) they (the Germans) originally took it.

The Conqueror made no alteration in the money weights, the same regulation continued to the year 1527, the eighteenth year of Henry the eighth; when it was ordained by the king in council that "all manere of goulde and silver shall be wayed bye the pound troye whilk maketh tuelve oz. troye."*

By the Saxon monuments, which have come down to us, we find that they had another kind of money among them; and which continued to be current in England for many years after the conquest, namely *living money*; i. e. slaves and cattle of every denomination; which had a certain value set

* See Tables of English Silver Coin.

set upon them by law. In those places where money was scarce, all debts were paid and purchases made, with living money. The same practice prevailed both in Scotland and Wales, during the time under consideration.* This shows that the quantity of metallic money was but little in Britain, (so was it also in every nation in Europe) and not adequate to the demand. The rulers of kingdoms in those days, no doubt, felt the inconvenience, which made them adopt the expedient of increasing the currency, by means of a substitute; but they took care that the value of the succedaneum should be real, not imaginary, nor delusive,

Alfred the Great was one of the richest of the Anglo-Saxon kings; yet he bequeathed no more to each of his two sons, than five hundred pounds, and one hundred pounds to each of his three daughters, being not more than 140*l.* 12*s.* to each of his sons, and 281*l.* 12*s.* to each of his daughters.†

* Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*—Camden's *Remains*.

† *Testamentum Ælfredi*, apud Asser. p. 23.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MORAL CHARACTER OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS——THEIR
LONGEVITY——THEIR DOCILITY AFTER THEIR CONVERSION
——CREDULITY——VENERATION FOR RELICS——PROPENSITY
TO THE MONASTIC LIFE——PILGRIMAGES——JUDICIAL ASTRO-
LOGY, &c.——GRANT OF THE TITHES TO THE CLERGY——
POLICE OF THE CITY.

TO enable a reader to form a just judgment of any people, no information is more necessary than that which relates to their moral character, their manners and customs: for the honour and happiness of nations, as well as of individuals, depend more on these than on outward circumstances. A virtuous people cannot be contemptible; nor a vicious nation long prosperous and happy. From history we learn, that the great empires of antiquity, which awed and plagued mankind, owed their decay and dissolution more to internal corruption, than to the sword of their enemies.

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That the Anglo-Saxons were a rude, ferocious people, in the former part of their history, is too evident to be disputed: every trait of their character as it displays itself in Britain, showed that nothing could be farther removed from cultivation, than their manners. Fierce and warlike, they hardly knew what humanity meant. Yet were they not destitute of every good quality. They were punctual in fulfilling their engagements: sincere and constant in their friendships and attachments. The chastity of their young men and women was exemplary, and their fidelity after marriage not less commendable. In hospitality no people or nation ever exceeded them—this virtue they derived from their ancestors the Germans:* and after their conversion to Christianity, this disposition was strengthened by motives of religion. The English kings, of this period, expended a great part of their revenues in making sumptuous, heavy entertainments: and in imitation of them, the thanes, and rich men among them, spent a great part of their incomes in a rude kind of hospitality. In the monasteries, travellers and strangers of every denomination, (rich and poor) were received,

* Tacitus—De Morib. German.

ceived, and kindly and plentifully entertained.— Another commendable disposition prevailed almost universally among them in the former part of their history, which was the great attachment, and the warmth of affection which subsisted among them for their family and relations. In their persons they were remarkably tall, strong and robust; and in consequence thereof, many of them lived to a great age. Cissa, who re-built the city of Chichester, died at the age of one hundred and seventeen years, as mentioned before. One of the monks of Croiland, named father Clarenbald, A. D. 973, lived to the protracted age of one hundred and sixty eight years. Father Swarling died the same year, and at the same place, aged one hundred and forty-two years, and father Turgar, in the same abbey, and near the same time, at the age of one hundred and fifteen years. These instances of longevity, and several others, are related by Ingulphus, an author of credit, who himself was abbot of Croiland. The list among so robust a people, as the Anglo-Saxons were, would have been greater, and no doubt still more remarkable, had they practised temperance in eating and drinking more than they are said to have done.

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When they become converts to Christianity, they manifested a great docility of temper, a desire to be taught, and a sincere disposition to be religious—if they had been rightly instructed: an happiness which they did not enjoy; because, at that time, the Christian religion was corrupted at the fountain head, to a very great degree. To the monastic life they shewed a wonderful propensity. How greatly changed in the course of a few centuries! when the descendents of Hengist and Horsa, of Ella, Cerdic, Ida and Uffa, dropping both the sword and the sceptre, hastened to end their days in the seats of sloth and superstition! No fewer than ten kings, and eleven queens, among the Anglo-Saxons, and nobles without number, forsook the world and retired to monasteries. At first, and for some considerable time, this infatuation raged almost exclusively among the great: but, by and by, as they have ever done in all cases, their inferiors followed their example. To account for this great change, the annals of the clergy must be examined; and in them we shall find a full solution.—When eorl Alwine consulted the famous saint Oswald, what he should do to obtain the remission of his sins, the pious
bishop

bishop informed him that those holy men who retired from the world, and spent their time in fasting and prayer, were the greatest favourites of God; that it was for their sake, and at their intercession, that the world was preserved from coming to immediate dissolution. "I advise you therefore, (continued he) if you have any place in your estate, proper for that purpose, immediately to build a monastery there, and fill it with holy monks; whose prayers will supply all your defects, and expiate all your crimes."* In consequence of this advice, the earl built Ramsey abbey.—It was not only in England, at this time, but throughout all Europe, in Asia, in Egypt, and other parts of Africa, and in short, wherever Christianity prevailed, that the monastic delusion obtained.

It would be no difficult matter to trace this institution to Rome, Alexandria, &c. as its fountains. Some men of a splenetic disposition and heated imagination may first have conceived the idea of sequestering themselves from society, and retiring from the

* Hist. Ramsiens.—Charity induces us to hope that this advice was sincere, and well intended; and flowed from the full conviction of his mind—a mind blinded by superstition!

the world; but if they had not been abetted and supported by persons in power, so wild a conceit, a turn of mind so unnatural, would soon have come to nothing, and been given up. From those sources of error and imposition, the prelates received their commissions, in consequence of which they exerted themselves to promote any scheme calculated to increase the patriarchal power and dominion, in which their own was involved. They failed not to inculcate in those who were rich, that the end of the world was near, and the day of judgment at hand. Some of the charters which are still extant, begin with these words—"Synce the ende of the wourlde is at haunde," &c.* and therefore every man, who had any concern for his own salvation in a future state, did not neglect to appropriate some of his wealth in his last will, for that purpose. "King Æthelwolf, (says Asserius) like a wise man, in his last will, divided his estate between his soul and his children: what he gave to his children I need not mention; what he gave to his soul was as follows:"† and then follows an account of donations to the church. Sometimes an abbot would give to some great man
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* Hiccesii Dessert. Epis. p. 77.—† Asserii Vita Ælfredi, p. 4.

an estate during his life, on condition that after his death it should revert to the monastery, accompanied with another estate of equal value, *for the good of his soul, and to secure his admission into the kingdom of Heoffn.* Very great and undeserved praises are bestowed by the monkish historians, on Ætheric, bishop of Dorchester, for the adroitness by which he procured an estate for the abbey of Ramsey, in the reign of Canute. The proprietor, it appears, was a Danish nobleman, whom Ætheric contrived to make drunk, and while he was in that state of intoxication, purchased the estate of him for a very trifling sum; greatly under its value.* If this story be faithfully narrated, Ætheric, instead of praise for his acuteness, deserved to have been chastised as a rogue and a swindler.

The Anglo-Saxons were also very fond of pilgrimages; especially after the beginning of the eighth century. Few persons (if their circumstances would at all admit of it) could die in comfort or peace, unless they had visited Rome, kissed the pope's feet, and said their oraisons at the (pretended) sepulchres of saint Peter and saint Paul. But it does
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* Hist. Eliens. p. 441.

not appear from the annals of those days, that the morals of the pilgrims (especially of the females) were at all improved by their religious peregrinations. There are accounts that three or four of the bishops of Selsea performed these pilgrimages,* and it is probable that many more of them did, whose names are not mentioned. One of them (Ethelgar) it is said was attended by a considerable retinue. Perhaps some of the thanes or yeomanry of his diocese accompanied him.

Another remarkable trait in the character of this people was their veneration for the relics of saints, &c. William of Malmesbury represents it as the peculiar glory of England that it abounded more with saints and relics than any other country. “What shall I say (says he, p. 57) of all our holy bishops, hermits, and abbots? Is not this whole country so glorious and refulgent with relics, that you can hardly enter a village of any note, without hearing of some saint; though the names of many of our English saints have perished for want of records!” The rage for relics (a trade which can exist only in times of great superstition) was general among

* See Spelman.

among all descriptions of people in England; and in a particular manner among the clergy, who were the importers and merchants of the holy wares. A thousand improbable tales of miracles said to be performed by those relics, were invented by the monks, and implicitly believed by the credulous people.

They evinced likewise a great propensity for psalmody, or singing of psalms; especially after the introduction of organs into churches, in the ninth century. In some cathedrals, and in many of the larger monasteries, this kind of devotion was continued day and night, with very little intermission, by a regular succession of priests and singers.

It is remarked by several of the antient historians, who have written the history of the Anglo-Saxons, that soon after they embraced Christianity, their ferocity began to abate—they became more peaceable—and a superstitious devotion succeeded that warlike disposition which so strongly marked their character before. To this change it is asserted, and the consequences of this change, they owed all the calamities and disgraces which afterwards befel them, when they were invaded by the Danes; these calamities, it is true, may be attributed, with very
great

great reason, to the circumstance of their princes and great men flying from the world, and shutting themselves up in monasteries, and inducing through every rank and description of life, such a spirit of superstition, and such apathy of every worldly concern, as is incompatible with public spirit, or true patriotism. So greatly was the national character, at this time, degenerated; that they could hardly be induced to face their invaders in the field, on any terms whatever:* a small party of Danes would attack and rout a numerous army of the English. “When an Englishman met a Dane in a narrow path, where he could not avoid him, he was obliged to stand still, with his head uncovered, and in a bowing posture, as soon as the Dane appeared, and to remain in that posture till he was out of sight.”† The author of this quotation produces several examples of the barbarous insolence of the Danes, and the abject submission of the English, which could not be credited, if the insolence of the one, and the tameness of the other, were not confirmed by other historians.‡

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* Henry's Hist. of Eng. Vol. IV. p. 312.

† Pentapopidon Gesta Danor. t. 2. p. 139.

‡ *Sæpenumero decem aut duodecim Dani alternis vicibus uxorem vel Filiam vel Cognatam Thyani vitiant, ipso Thyano spectante, nec prohibere audente.*—Hickesii Thesaur. t. 1. p. 103.

It was remarked before, that the credulity of the Anglo-Saxons was extreme, so was their superstitious faith in ghosts and apparitions: a weakness which the common people in some counties of England have hardly surmounted to this day. At the time we now treat of, and for many centuries after, had all the graves in England opened their “ponderous jaws,” and sent out their inmates on vain nocturnal expeditions, they would hardly have been sufficient to produce the many apparitions which were reported to have been seen in every solitary place in the country, and almost in every house. As reason and sound philosophy prevail, these phantoms, or rather the belief of these phantoms, retires, as darkness before the sun.

Not less remarkable were they for another kindred weakness which sprang from the same source, namely, an eagerness to pry into futurity, and to discover the events which were to happen to themselves and others, by means of judicial astrology. This propensity exposed them to the impositions of a set of wretches calling themselves fortune-tellers; who pretended, by means of the stars, to have acquired a knowledge which the wise and gracious
governor

governor of the world has reserved in his own hands, and communicated to none of his creatures. The tricks which were passed upon the people, by those wrinkled secretaries of fate, were innumerable, and some of them so barefacedly impostures, that in reading of them we wonder they did not discover, however weak they might be, that the whole mystery was no more than a juggle. Yet these hags were attended like queens; and treated by the great men and ladies of those days with a degree of attention and veneration truly astonishing. Bartholin, the Danish historian, mentions one of them, named Heida, "who was constantly attended by thirty men servants, and waited on by fifteen young maidens."* Princes and great men, when they invited these impostors to their houses, made as great preparations, and received them with as much pomp and formality as if they had been the ambassadors of some mighty potentate. When the leaders of the people were so blind, we may judge that the optics of the other classes were not more enlightened.

The account of the religion of this period has been anticipated in part by the transient remarks in

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* Bartholin, Lib. III. C. IV.

the preceeding pages. The Danish invasions were productive of several consequences of great importance. These men being pagans, as well as savages, in every visit never failed to attack and plunder the monasteries, in which the clergy generally resided; many of whom they butchered, or buried in the ruins of these edifices: in consequence of which many of the monks relinquished an institution which exposed them to so great danger; and others of them, who still adhered to their profession, retired into country villages; which occasioned the building of many parish churches throughout the country. Another consequence was, that the clergy, after their dispersion, generally embraced a married life: which in the issue was productive of disputes and bitter animosities among them, and ended in the papal decree for the celibacy of the clergy.

In the reign of Ethelwolf—this prince, in a great council holden at Winchester, A. D. 855, at which were present the two arch-bishops, all the other bishops, and the greatest part of the nobility, gave to the church the tenth part of the produce of all the lands in the kingdom. Before this time the clergy had been supported by the lands given by the king,

king, and other great men ; a tax of one pennie on every house worth thirty Saxon pennies per annum, and by the voluntary oblations of the people. The good king Alfred, at a very considerable expence, repaired the monasteries and churches which the Danes had demolished ; and invited the clergy, who had fled, to return to their former residences. Many of them accepted the invitation ; and returning took with them their wives (whom they had married in their retreats) and their children : this, in the mean time, was the cause of much scandal and offence ; and in the next age, these married canons were ejected from the monasteries by saint Dunstan, arch-bishop of Canterbury and bishop of London, saint Oswald, arch-bishop of York and bishop of Worcester, and Æthelwald, bishop of Winchester—monks of the Benedictine order, and furious zealots for the celibacy of the clergy. The two first of these have been canonized by the church of Rome, and unsainted (if I may be permitted the expression) by the English historians, who have written since the reformation. That they were much too violent in their proceedings must be acknowledged, but it will not follow from thence that their intentions were bad. They

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endeavoured to sublimize human nature beyond its capacity ; to raise it to a degree of perfection attainable only by progressive steps, if attainable at all. Æthelwald died A. D. 984, saint Dunstan in 988, and saint Oswald in 993. In their life time these three ecclesiastics so far out-shone the other bishops in the kingdom, (many of them far better men and better Christians than themselves) that their names are hardly mentioned in history : among whom we may reckon Ethelgar, bishop of Selsea, who succeeded Dunstan in the province of Canterbury ; unfortunately for the peace and quiet of the church, the time that he filled that high station was short, only fifteen months. Ælfric, who succeeded him chose rather to tread in the steps of saint Dunstan, than to follow the more placid example of his immediate predecessor.

In the ecclesiastical laws, made in the reign of Canute, there is one canon which forbids “ worshiping the sun, moon, fire, &c.” by which it would appear that, at that time, the pagan religion was not entirely eradicated. Another of these canons prohibits the practice of “ wychcraft,” and “ the committing of murder by magicke.”* King Edward,
called

* Johnson's Canons.

called the confessor, was a great benefactor to the church: the last year of his life he employed in building the famous abbey of Westminster,* which he dedicated to saint Peter, endowed with great riches, and bestowed on it many valuable privileges and immunities.†

The tenth and eleventh centuries may without impropriety be called the midnight of papal darkness: a time it was of profound ignorance, delusion and superstition, to such a degree, that the human mind seemed to have lost its energy—no dawn of hope remained—and no human penetration could discover by what means the solid gloom, which enveloped this island, could ever be dispelled! By the vast donations and grants which were given and made to the monasteries and churches, during this long night, it is computed that at the death of the Confessor, a third part of all the lands in England, and one half of all its riches, were in the possession of the church and the clergy. We need not then be surprised that the country became a prey, first to the Danes, and

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* This was taken down by Henry III. who erected the present magnificent structure in the room of it—except that part called Henry the Seventh's chapel, which was built by that prince.

† Dugdale's Monast.

soon after to the Normans—as the influence of all this wealth centered at last in the Roman pontiff, and not in the rulers or people of this kingdom.

The candid reader will see that it is impossible to give a full and circumstantial account of the state of the city immediately before the conquest. From Domesday-book it appears that in the reign of the Confessor, not only all Chichester, with very few exceptions, but almost all the county, belonged to the eorl, i. e. earl Godwin, the father of king Harold the second. The administration of justice was therefore vested in him. Being a garrison town, it was divided into wards—these were ten in number—two in each of the four streets, called the Upper-ward and Lower-ward—the Vintry-ward, and the Pallant-ward.* Each ward was governed by two constables, who were under the direction of two head-boroughs or high-constables, for the whole, who presided each half a year, and took their authority from the eorl, to whom they were answerable for the discharge of their own duty, and that of all the constables who acted

* Vintry-ward contained saint Martin's, saint Mary's, and the Friary—and the Pallant-ward, that which is now called the Pallant.

acted in subordination to them. In some of the oldest charters of the city, which are now in existence, namely those of king Stephen, and Henry II, mention is made of the merchants' guild, as an institution that had obtained therein from time immemorial,* whether from the time of the Romans, cannot be ascertained; we can only say that it is probable. Whether the emperor's men† (who resided in London) traded with Chichester, cannot be determined with certainty; but as they had agents, or factors, in many of the principal towns in England, it is most probable that they did. We ground a hope that the merchants of Chichester were not concerned in the slave trade, on the certain knowledge that London and Bristol were the principal, if not the only ports in the kingdom, from whence that inhuman traffic was carried on.

* Vide Appendix.

† They were called **EMPEROR'S MEN**; but might with more propriety have been denominated **IMPERIAL MEN**; for many of them belonged to, and came from the Hans Towns of Germany, and traded not for the emperor, but for themselves and their firms.



CHAPTER XII.

A RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE DWELLING-HOUSES OF THE CITY AT DIFFERENT TIMES—AND A LIST OF THE CHURCHES IN THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX, AT THE TIME OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST.—OF THE POPULATION OF THE COUNTY AT THAT TIME.

I FIND it impossible by any research whatever, to give an account of these (i. e. the houses in Chichester) before that remarkable æra in our history, the coming of the Romans into Britain. It is not improbable that the first buildings that were erected here were the walls; that is mounds of earth, raised to a considerable height, intermixt with felled trees; and covered on the top with the same, as a kind of fortifications, to defend the inhabitants from the attacks of their enemies, whom they had driven from thence, or of future emigrants from the same place they themselves had come from. Be this as it will, we know enough of uncivilized man, from antient, and especially from modern history, to justify me
in

in this conjecture; and farther, that it was the first or second colony or band of Belgian emigrants that built them. But at what time I take not upon me to give any opinion: it may have been many, and perhaps only a few centuries before the Romans landed in this island. I think there can be no doubt but the houses which they raised to defend themselves from the severity of the weather, were only wigwams at first. As they carried on a kind of traffic with the continent, in process of time, they learned from thence a something more commodious manner of building. The first improvement was plastering their wigwams with clay, or covering them up with turf. The next step—changing the shape of the building from round to square, or a long square: raising a kind of roof, and covering that roof with divet or turf. The upright walls consisted of stakes driven into the ground, crossed with small branches of trees, and lined and covered with a coat of clay. In this state of perfection or imperfection, Cæsar found the habitations of the Britons; on which he has bestowed the name of *ædificia*. We may conclude that the walls were moated round soon after they were raised: and the streets and lanes marked

marked out by some of their druidical chiefs, or more probably in after ages by the Romans.

The British Belgæ being deservedly a favourite people with the Romans, enjoyed many privileges: they protected and promoted their foreign traffic; so that while they (the Romans) remained here, almost the whole foreign trade of the island was in their hands. This was attended with many advantages to them: it procured them great comparative wealth, and consequently opened to them a door of improvement—a relish for, and access to the enjoyment of the comforts and decencies of social life. Add to this, Chichester was the residence of the Roman prætor; and therefore a place of eminent resort. By which and other means it was, that in the course of a few years, it experienced a great and beneficial change: their mean, uncomfortable huts were changed into decent edifices; and the uncultivated inhabitant converted to a respectable member of society, and a denizen of Rome, the mistress of the world, the glory and admiration of the world! So sudden, at this ever memorable period, did Chichester emerge from a state greatly below mediocrity, to be, if not the most populous, at least the most opulent and eminent

eminent place in the island. So that in forming an estimate of the buildings of the city before the demolition of it by Ella, the Saxon, it will appear to great advantage. The houses no doubt were constructed after the Roman model, low and heavy, and the walls almost as thick as castle walls: but still they were convenient and elegant in the highest degree, in comparison with what they had been before. How partial the Romans were to Chichester may be inferred from their building here, and no where else in Britain, a temple to their gods. The southern inhabitants were happily removed from the incursions, depredations, and massacres of the Scots and Picts; and it may be that they had the prudence or selfishness to stand aloof from the broils and calamities in which their countrymen in the northern districts were involved. If so, the sword of Ella soon revenged their unpatriotic apathy. Their mansions were burned or levelled with the ground, and themselves slaughtered without distinction, and without mercy.—His son and successor Cissa (from whom the city derives its present name) it is true, did all that in him lay to repair the devastations which his father had made, and to atone for the barbarities he had committed. But his

his power was limited and circumscribed by his ferocious countrymen, who had no idea of shewing clemency to slaves whom they had conquered in battle, and who, having hitherto lived in booths and tents, hardly entertained a wish for any more comfortable mansions. So that the business of re-building the city, in these circumstances, must have gone on very slowly, and it must have been in condition much inferior to what it was before.

“*Tantæ molis erat Cicestrensem condere Urbam.*”

The habitations of the Saxons, in the former part of their history, in this country were very mean, and though in the latter part of their time they were considerably improved; yet they still continued in a state far removed from respectable, if compared with the dwelling houses on the continent. It is observable that at no time are they said to have excelled in architecture: a circumstance which may readily be accounted for. Before the union of the heptarchy, through the turbulence and ambition of their kings and chieftains, they were almost incessantly engaged in wars: and afterwards grievously harrassed by the Danes and Norwegians. Their first annals are stained
with

with blood, and their last almost equally dishonoured with superstition. The transition from the one to the other was so rapid, that the historian pauses to record a change so extraordinary, lest it should stagger belief, and bring his veracity into suspicion.

It is recorded of the antient Grecians that they erected vast and magnificent temples for their gods, and other public edifices, and lived in mean habitations themselves: so the Saxon-English, after they became converts, I do not say to Christianity, but to popery, built extensive monasteries and churches, and resided themselves in low, contemptible mansions. So that in surveying the dwelling houses in Chichester, from its demolition by Ella to the time of the Norman conquest, we must carefully avoid in our ideas every thing that is magnificent or approaching to elegance. In the time of the heptarchy perhaps the king's palace was a spacious structure; but there is no reason to suppose that it was a magnificent building.

It has been observed before that Vespasian was sent hither by the emperor Claudius; as he met with no opposition from the Regni, he therefore, in return, conferred on them every mark of friendship,
which

which a great and generous people could bestow. They shared with them the spoils taken in war; their trade was taken under their protection, and new channels opened for the extension of it. They taught them the arts, and initiated them in the sciences, then known in Rome; raising them to a state of some eminence, from the most degraded condition; i. e. not the state of nature, but nature corrupted and perverted by the barbarous political institutions which then prevailed among them. Not only their dwelling houses, but their manner of living experienced a thorough change and reformation. While the other parts of the island were subject, some to the calamities of an unequal war, and others to the hard conditions of a conquered people, the Regni alone were called *the friends and allies of the Romans*; and as such treated by them with distinguished partiality. It is not unreasonable therefore to aver that this place (whatever name it bore) was superior in all respects to every other in Britain. To those who attend only to the present comparative greatness of the cities and towns in England, this assertion will appear extravagant and inadmissible; but others who consider that the destinies of Britain at that time,

were

were only beginning to unfold themselves; and that the political state of Europe, then hinged upon maxims very different from the present, will find no difficulty in admitting the probability of it. The town of Lewes in this county, was its greatest rival in trade of any in this island: and so it continued for some time. That London existed at that time I shall not dispute; but certainly it was not populous, nor of much eminence: for when Cæsar passed the Thames, a little below the place where that great city now stands, in pursuit of Cassivillaunus, not the least mention is made of London; which we cannot suppose he would have omitted if it had been populous, or a place of great resort. And though Claudius lived nearly an hundred years later than Cæsar, the melioration thereof could not be great; its situation was not advantageous for the foreign trade of that time: even the commerce of the Belgic Britons, though protected by the Romans, suffered greatly from the pirates of the northern nations.

There have been found at different times, on the old Broile-road, not far from the city, the broken fragments of pipes, made of pottery, of different lengths, the interior diameter about three inches, and
having

having the end of the one inserted into the other, in the same manner as wooden pipes for conveying water are now. These are evidently of Roman fabrication ; and no doubt were used for bringing the water from the spring or springs on the old Broile, for supplying the city withal. This is a satisfactory proof that the dwelling houses here were then in a respectable condition ; for it cannot be supposed that the Romans would have subjected themselves, or others, to that trouble and expence for the accommodation of huts. The walls they found in the condition before-mentioned : these they fortified with a strong munition of stone on the outside, raised to the height of about twenty feet ; and erected bastions or round towers, about sixteen in number, at unequal distances. The four gates, with a portcullis to each, they built in so strong a manner as to be impregnable to the artillery of that day, and in such a style of elegance and uniformity, that they served as an ornament to the city at the same time. That the castle, or residence of the Roman proprætor was on or near the spot where the episcopal palace now stands, is evident from the Roman pavement found there, A. D. 1727. And that the whole, or greater
part

part of the south west quarter of the city was occupied with the houses of the great men and principal officers of his court, is no unreasonable conjecture. On the same authority I conclude that he had a country house, or mansion of retirement, at the place afterwards called Kingsham: the cold bath there at this day, which is built with Roman bricks, supports this conjecture.—Though it be recorded in history that Ella either burned or demolished *all* the houses here, when he took the city by assault, we may notwithstanding believe that not *all* the houses, but by far the greater part of them were thus destroyed. And at all events, as they were constructed principally of stone, the foundations of them would survive the general desolation. Hisson Cissa, when he set himself to rebuild the houses and restore the ruined state of this then antient town, would doubtless avail himself of every advantage that he could find: by which means the houses in Chichester would be in a more respectable condition than in any other of the Saxon capitals.

In the Domesday-book there is only one church mentioned here, and said to belong to the archbishop of Canterbury; which determines it to

be that of All-Saints, in the Pallant. One other (the monastery) we are almost certain existed long before; and therefore must have been omitted. Nor have I the least doubt but the churches of saint Olave and saint Andrew, were erected before the conquest. Olaus was a Danish saint, and it is reasonable to conclude that the church which bears his name, was built in the time of the Danish kings.

He (Cissa) caused the city to be measured out into lots or messuages; to every one of which was annexed a plat of ground for a garden; and also a part or parcel of land round the city to a considerable extent, which he gave it, including the two Broiles, Portfield, Whyke, the meadows on the south, and the lands on the west thereof: that every (free) inhabitant might have some land for his use and convenience.

When earl Roger afterwards gave the southwest quarter of the city to the church of Chichester, the grant included the lands appertaining thereto. That which had formerly belonged to the other three quarters, he disjoined from them; and either occupied the same himself or let them on lease. By which means, when his son Robert de Belesmè, forfeited his

English

English possessions, they reverted to the crown, in which they remained during seven or eight reigns. Henry III. about the year 1230, "gave and granted" to Randolph Nova Villa, (Ralph Neville) bishop of Chichester, and his successors, the lands called "the Broyles, with their appurtenances," perhaps meaning all the unappropriated lands which had formerly belonged to the city.

The following is a list (extracted from the survey in the Dom-boc) of all the churches in the county at that time :

	<i>Churches.</i>	<i>Ministers.</i>
Bosham	2	17
Pagham	1	} Archbis. of Can.
Tangmere	1	
Patching	1	
Chichester	1	
Terring	1	
Bexhill	2	devasted
Elcham	1	
Brislingham	1	
Haslesse	1	
Salchurst	1	
Hamfield	1	
Aldingbourn	1	
Selsea		not mentioned
Preston	1	
Ramesley	5	
Winchelsea	1	
Steyning	2	
Berry	1	
Thorney	1	2 and 1 Priest
Elsted	1	
Woolavington	1	

	<i>Churches:</i>	<i>Ministers.</i>	
*Suesse	1		
Donnington	0	2	
Felpham	1		
Hove	1 small		
Catsfield	1 small		
Nerewell	1 small		
Hurst	1		
Eastbourne	1		
Westbourne	0	7	
Singleton	1		
Binderton	1		
Rawmere	0	0	no agricultural imple-
Trotton	1		ments
Chithurst	1 small		
Stedham	1		a stone quarry
Cocking	1		
Lynch	1		
Bepton	1		
Graffham	1		
Petworth	1		
Tillington	0	8	
Greatham	0	5	a stone quarry
Duncton	1	2	
Sutton	0	5	
Barlavington	0	4	
Cold Waltham	0	6	
Stopham	0	1	
Botchington	1	2	
Marden	1	5-3	
Racton	0	0	not mentioned
Lordington	0	2	
Compton	1	4	
Stoughton	0	5	
Fishbourne	0	1	
Whyke	0	1	
North Mundham	1	2	
Hunston	0	0	two salt pans
Somerly	0	1	
Storrington	1		
Pulborough	2	9	
Chiltingtone	1		
Leominster	1	4	
North Stoke	1	5	
Burpham	1	10	

	<i>Churches.</i>	<i>Ministers.</i>	
Climping	2		
Bignor	1	2	quarry of mill-stones
Walberton	1	6	
Barnham	1		
Middleton	1		
South Stoke	1		
Slindon	1		
Offham	0	5	
Eastergate	1		
West Hampton	1		
Oving	0	5	
*Niworde (Southover)	1	6	
Rodmel	1		
Parham	1	6	
Ditchling	1		
Falmer	1	1	
*Laneswick	0	2	
Ovingdean	1	4	
Brighthelmstone	1		
Balmer	1	2	
Poynings	1		
*Perchings	0	2	
Hurst	1	8	
Clayton	1		
Keymer	1	3	
Street	2		
Plumpton	1	8	
*Bercham	1		
*Ham	1		
Beeding	2		
Shoreham	1		
*Hanningdean	1		
Washington	0	6	
Finden	1	6	
Wiston	1	5	
Combe	1	2	
*Applesham	0	2	
Woodmancote	1		
*Wantley	0	4	
Shermanbury	1	4	
Kingston	2	1	
Broadwater	1	3	
Heene	0	1	

	<i>Churches.</i>	<i>Ministers.</i>	
Durrington	1	4	
Worthing	0	1	
*Stultings	1	5	
Thakeham	1		
Woolbeding	1	5	
Iping	0	5	a quarry

On the preceeding account it is obvious to remark that the names therein mentioned, are not the denominations of parishes, but of manors. The former is an ecclesiastical division which then had no existence, nor for a considerable time after; and when it was introduced it prevailed not uniformly. The royal domain at Bosham is the first on the list; where there were two churches, as there are now, Bosham and Funtington. The present fabric of the former, it is said, was built by the bishop of Exeter. It is most probable however that he only repaired it, and made it collegiate. The number of ministers mentioned (seventeen) is high; from which we may conclude that this was one of the royal residences of the Danish kings. In some places there are ministers and no churches—where they officiated does not appear. Where a church is mentioned and no minister (which occurs frequently) we may conclude that there was one at least. At Selsea, the then or late
episcopal

episcopal residence, we find neither church nor minister; a circumstance not easily to be accounted for. At Rawmere there were no agricultural implements—a proof of the distress of the times; and of the low and degraded state of farming in general in the country. At Hunston we find two salt pans—a presumption that the sea then flowed up to the place now called Longstone-lane, and seems to confirm the tradition that once the tide came up almost to the walls of the city.—The denomination of places in the Domesday-book being very different from the names they now bear, in many instances I found it difficult to modernize them—where it could not be accomplished, or where there was reason to doubt, the original is retained—and the place marked with an asterism.

Though I have said that the domestic buildings in Chichester were mean and inelegant, during the time of the Saxons: yet it must be remembered that in a comparative view, this city was not inferior to any in the kingdom at the time of the Norman conquest, except London, and, it may be, Winchester. Its trade considerable, for the time; and its guild (for it had a guild) respectable. As early as the

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reign

reign of Edgar, i. e. about the year 966 or 967, a mint was established here, in subordination to the king's exchanger at Winchester: which mint, Stowe (p. 46) informs us was *revived* in the ninth year of king John, subordinate to the king's exchanger in London. What the power and jurisdiction of the guild was in the time of the Saxons, I cannot ascertain. It may be its functions were derived from the eorl, or thane, and not from the crown: in which case we must conclude that its power was very limited, and reached no farther than its own internal government in matters of commerce.

The Dom-boc contains, among other particulars, an exact account of all the efficient slaves in each manor throughout England: from a cursory examination of those in this county, I find the number to be something more than nine thousand two hundred effective male-slaves at that time; the female-slaves are not included in the account, nor their children. So that we may reckon the whole number of them to be about fifty thousand; that of free persons not so high, perhaps something less than forty thousand—or about eighty-eight thousand, the whole population of the county: nearly three
fifths

fifths of the present amount (159,311) according to the account given in to government, A. D. 1801.

Here it is obvious to remark, that before the Norman conquest, the population of the whole kingdom must have been considerably higher than it was at the time in which that survey was made. In no place was the number of the people diminished more than in this county; nor so much: many of them fell in the battle of Hastings, under the standard of sir John Ashburnham, and of others—a far greater number were slaughtered in cold blood after that fatal day; and not a few of the freemen emigrated into foreign countries, being peculiarly obnoxious to the conqueror, as the immediate vassals and terræ-tenants of Harold. If this remark be correct, and the preceeding supputation just, we may fairly estimate the population of Sussex to have been, at the time above-mentioned, nearly one hundred thousand; something more than five-eighths of the present.

The highest civic authority in those days, was that of the portgrave, (a name compounded of two Saxon words, port, signifying town, and geref, importing ruler or governor;) the introduction into
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the corporation of Chichester is now, and has been from time immemorial, by admitting the candidate to the honour of portreve, &c. evidently the same office, varied in rank indeed, as that by which the corporation or guild (call it what you will) was regulated in the time of the Saxons. Soon after the conquest this title was dropt in most places: for the Normans hated every thing Saxon; and bailive substituted in its stead. But it would seem that our local predecessors, though they were not able to resist the power of their conquerors, and reject the bailiffe first, and afterwards the mayor, from being their chief magistrate; yet still they clung to the name, and retained the portgrave or portreve in their corporation, though divested of his antient precedence and authority.

The houses of the Saxons consisted only of a ground floor; and this continued the prevailing mode of building long after the conquest, until the value of ground and the want of room suggested to the inhabitants the obvious expedient of raising their edifices higher, in the reign of the seventh and eighth Henries, and afterwards. Even so late as the middle of the seventeenth century, when the houses in the
saint

saint Pancrass were rebuilt, in the time of the Commonwealth, almost all of them were raised but one story high ; which is the condition of some of them at this day. Though the ichnography of Chichester has undergone no material change from the time that the Romans quitted Britain, to the present ; yet the disposition of the streets, and some of the public buildings, have been altered in some degree. The north, west, and south-streets were wider formerly than they are now near the cross. The town-hall (then called the town-house) from time immemorial stood in the north-street ; not in the middle of it, but upon the west-side, contiguous to the house now in the occupation of Mr. Gawne, attorney. From the account of antient men, who have seen it, it appears to have been a spacious building ; but very far from elegant : but before the erection of the council chamber, it served all the purposes which that and the town-hall do now. That chamber was raised on the ruins of the church, called in writings, saint Peter the great, near the guild-hall. As every church in town had a burying-ground belonging to it ; this must have occupied a considerable space ; which is now converted to other purposes ; and it is not improbable

probable that the church and church-yard reached from the north-street to saint Martin's square. On the east-side of the street, opposite the town-house, the line of buildings formed a curve, on account of the corn-market, which was kept there, whither the farmer brought his grain of every kind every Saturday, and exposed it for sale; and whither the inhabitants resorted to purchase the supplies necessary for their use. As almost every family for many generations, were accustomed to bake their own bread in their own ovens, the miller every week (or at some other stated time) called at their houses for their grist, which he brought back converted into flour, &c.

The church of saint Mary, called saint Mary in Foro, stood in the corner of the east and south-streets, on the scite of Mr. Weller's house, and those of Mr. Richard Murray and Mr. Wolferstan: the adjoining building, at present occupied by Mr. Gatehouse, there is no doubt is an encroachment on the south-street. What space the church and church-yard of saint Mary occupied in the east-street, it is impossible to determine. Before the fore-mentioned houses were in their present condition, they seemed to have stood not less than a century; and had the appearance,

appearance and fashion of edifices erected in the time of the second Charles. It may be that the church was not in respectable repair in the time of Charles I. and that the dependents in the time of the Commonwealth, made free with the materials, and demolished it entirely; and likewise that of saint Peter, near the guild-hall. But the most probable conjecture is, that they both were beaten down and demolished by the artillery of the parliamentary army in the time of the civil war,* and that bishop King, with the assent and consent of the arch-bishop, and the concurrence of the dean and chapter, made new arrangements, both in the churches and parishes of the city, to suit the exigence of the time, at the memorable æra of the Reformation. The lane now called Little-London, was formerly denominated Savery-lane—at what time the change of appellation took place, it is immaterial to enquire. The opposite lane, called Baffin's lane, reached from the east street to the south-wall.—In the center of the Pallant, until about seventy or eighty years ago, (when it was taken

* There have been found at different times, on the north-side of the mount at the Friary, cannon-balls of many various sizes, one of which weighed thirty-two pounds; which no doubt were lodged there when the place was then besieged.

taken down, or suffered to fall to ruin) there was a wooden-cross, which had stood there from time immemorial: whither the tanners or curriers sent all their leather to be stamped. The opposite house on the north-east corner, was built by Mr. Henry Peckham, commonly distinguished by the name of Lisbon Peckham, about the year 1712, for the purpose of a custom-house; whether it ever was used as such I do not know. The family of Farrington, lived in the house in the south-street, which now belongs to Mrs. Smith, widow of the late Revd. Charles Smith, as did the lady of the last sir Richard, who survived her said husband several years.



CHAPTER XIII.

ATROCITY OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR—CHICHESTER AND ARUNDEL, &c. GRANTED TO EARL ROGER MONTGOMERY—CASTLE OF CHICHESTER BUILT BY HIM—SOUTH-WEST QUARTER GRANTED TO THE CHURCH—OF THE MANERIAL HOUSES IN CHICHESTER.—SEIGNIORITY OF THE CITY REVERTS TO THE CROWN: AND CONFERRED ON THE EARLS OF ARUNDEL.—MELIORATION OF THE HOUSES IN CHICHESTER—WHEN IT BEGAN—BUILT OF WOOD—A PUBLIC WELL IN EVERY WARD OF THE CITY.

BUT to return to the time from which I have made this long, but I trust not unnecessary digression—there was not a free person in England, of any age, sex, or denomination, who was not deeply interested in the issue of the battle of Hastings, which was fought on the fourteenth day of October, between Harold II. king of England, and William, duke of Normandy. In consequence of that fatal day, many, very many, were suddenly reduced from affluence to extreme want; and all of them from a state of importance to the condition of slaves. The inhabitants
of

of the east of Sussex, where William landed, were the first to feel the effects of his fury after the battle. The manors of sir John Ashburnham were, in a particular manner, the objects of his vengeance ; because this worthy and valorous knight, at the desire of Harold, when he heard that the duke of Normandy was on the point of landing in England, had raised the posse comitatum of Sussex and Surry, of which he was high-sheriff that year, (Vide Fuller) to defend his sovereign and native country, from the threatened invasion of a foreign enemy.—According to some historians, this illustrious patriot had anticipated the wish and orders of the king, and was ready to join him with a considerable body of men, when he came to London from the north. I am credibly informed that king Harold's letter to sir John is still in the possession of his descendents—a monument of antiquity which reflects more honour on that family than their descent from Charlemagne ! a gem of far brighter lustre than any that ever came from Golconda !—On the fatal event of the battle of Hastings, this valiant and patriotic knight retreated with those of his followers who survived, to the castle of Dover ; intending to defend it against the invader,

invader, and hoping, no doubt, that the country in general would rise in their own defence; but was soon followed thither by William, who forced the garrison to surrender at discretion—in consequence sir John and many others were put to the sword.—Some of our historians relate that William exercised no severity on the English, till he found himself firmly fixed on the throne: but I perceive on examining the survey of the counties of Kent and Sussex, that the whole of his tract from Hastings to Dover, and from Dover to London, is there marked by the commissioners with the significant word *devastated*. So that a person, with the maps of these before him, and the Domesday-book in his hand, may trace the rout of the Norman army with the greatest precision as far as the borough of Southwark, to which they set fire and reduced it to ashes. They are said to have tarried a week at Hastings to bury their dead, and to recover of a dysentry. The truth is, the time was spent in ravaging the country, as may be collected from the above-mentioned record. At Dover William likewise halted some days, which were employed in chastising the inhabitants of Romney, and desolating the country; as it was pretended they had

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insulted, and otherwise maltreated some of his soldiers. He was crowned on Christmas-day, the same year, and early in the next year seized on, and confiscated the estates and treasures of Harold, and his two brothers, which were very great. By these means almost the whole of this county came into his possession: which he bestowed upon his followers. The rapes and towns of Chichester and Arundel, he gave to earl Roger de Montgomery—Bramber rape he bestowed on William de Braiose (perhaps Bruce.) William de Warrenne had the rape and borough of Lewes—the earl of Mortaigne that of Pevensy, and the rape of Hastings was conferred on the earl of Eu.

It is painful to reflect on the distress which, at that time, filled the kingdom from one end to the other. Were it possible to describe the miseries of the unhappy English on this dismal event, I would spare both the reader and myself the pain of writing and perusing a description of general horror, and unmeritted suffering. Not only were the thanes, and other proprietors of lands, driven from thence, but even the ceorls ejected from their possessions with rigour and unfeeling barbarity: and the frizalin despoiled

spoiled of their little property. This mode of proceeding was general throughout the whole kingdom, but enforced with greater severity and sanguinary atrocity in the private domains of the unhappy Harold and those of his family and friends. A very respectable modern historian (Henry) says, "the ceorls were suffered to retain their rank, and their possessions." But as he has adduced no authority, I claim the right of differing in opinion from him: because it is well known that no favour, and but little clemency, was shown to any englishmen in these most unhappy times; now the ceorls in the time of the Saxons, possessed their farms on very easy terms, nor could the thanes, and other landlords, either raise their rents, or disposess them of them: and I think it is not probable that the rapacious Normans would suffer this description of men to enjoy that which they thought in right of conquest belonged to them. Even the slaves, who were accounted only more cunning beasts, felt the weight of the Norman barbarity. A cotemporary writer, whose testimony cannot be doubted, declines to give any description of the severity used upon them, "because its inhu-

man cruelty would appear incredible to posterity.* Many of the frizalin, and several of the ceorls, were reduced to a state of slavery, and thought themselves happy in preserving their lives even on these hard terms. We may therefore, I think, assume it as an unquestionable fact—that “at the conquest, property, of every denomination, both in the city of Chichester, and throughout the county of Sussex, changed hands, with very few exceptions.” To pass over this calamitous time, at least waving a description of the scenes of distress which must then have taken place within these walls, I shall only observe that the whole number of the new landholders both in the city and county, was sixteen; whose names

* Hist. Eliens. apud Gale.

Many of them fled from their native country to avoid the cruelties of their invaders. Perhaps there was no country in Europe whither they did not emigrate to escape from the merciless Normans. “Each day (says Gibbon) they (the Varangians) rose in confidence and esteem; the whole body was assembled at Constantinople to perform the duty of guards; and their strength was recruited by a numerous body of their countrymen from Thule. On this occasion the vague appellation of Thule is applied to England.”

See Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp. Vol. X. p. 223.

pence, of our money, and in efficacy to more than one thousand pounds—a prodigious sum!—almost four pounds on the average of every house deserving to be reckoned. By the operation of the feudal system, which the Conqueror introduced in its full rigour and deformity, the king became the proprietor of all the property in the kingdom. It is known that earl Roger was a great favourite of William; but his partiality is not discoverable in the account of Sussex, which the commissioners gave in at the general survey. He was a distant relation of William; to whose service he had manifested his attachment in his native country, before his coming into England. He was a person of great courage, brave, but not rash, (See Oderic. Vital.) cool and intrepid in the midst of danger: and therefore William entrusted to him the van of the Norman army, at the memorable battle of Hastings. To his great military skill, and cool perseverance, there manifested, he owed the acquisition of the crown of England. No wonder then that William heaped on him so many valuable boons; that his bounty to him seemed to be unlimited; it was for good deeds done, and not to be done. In Wiltshire he had three manors; in

Surry

Surry four; in Hampshire nine; in Middlesex eight; in Cambridgeshire eleven; in Herefordshire one; in Gloucestershire one; in Worcestershire two; in Warwickshire eleven; in Staffordshire thirty; in Sussex seventy-seven—in all, one hundred and fifty-seven manors or lordships; besides the city of Chichester, the castle of Arundel, the city of Shrewsbury, the county of Salop, to which we may add, that he was truly earl of Ssex; as he had *tertium denarium de placitis comitatus*, the third penny of the pleas of the county: to which we may add likewise, the honour of Eye in Suffolk. The government of Shropshire and Shrewsbury, he committed to Warine the bald; and resided himself occasionally in Chichester, when he was in England.

The earl built a house for his own residence, on the place now called the Friary; and, as the Normans then very far excelled the English in the magnificence of their buildings, we may be assured that it was executed in a style far superior to any in the city. All the west-quarter he gave to Stigand, (the first bishop of Chichester) at the time that the king ordered all cathedral churches to be removed from villages to cities or boroughs, excepting ten

houses belonging to the manor of Bosham, lying between the tower-gate and the cross-gate in the west-street; which appertained to the king as lord of the manor, who gave the same to the prelate for the church that was to be built: so that the whole of that quarter, by grants from the king and the earl, now belonged to the see, including the palace of the South-Saxon kings, and the abbey of saint Peter, some of the walls of which remain to this day, and form part of the walls of the church of saint Peter the Great, or the Subdeanry.

Of the inhabited houses here, one hundred and twenty-six belonged to the manors mentioned in the margin. Bosham manor had eleven belonging to it, the ten mentioned above, and the other

on

<i>Houses.</i>			<i>Houses.</i>			<i>Houses.</i>		
Singleton	9	Fishbourne	2	Stedham	1			
Mid Lavant	1	Bosham	11	Iping	1			
Hampnett	1	Westbourne	7	Cocking	1			
Strettington	3	Racton	1	Linch	1			
Halnaker	3	Stoughton	15	Selham	1			
Tangmere	4	Up-Marden	1	Burton	1			
Aldingbourne	16	East Marden	1	Petworth	2			
Felpham	1	North Marden	4	Tillington	1			
Seale	6	Compton	2	Duncton	1			
Wittering	13	Harting	11	Stopham	1			
Donnington	1	Chithurst	1	Woolavington	1			

on the west side of the tower-gate, now in the occupation of Mr. William Guy, surgeon, held under the dean and chapter, as part of said manor. At that time, and long after, the fronts of the ten houses in the west-street, just mentioned, were in a line drawn with the front of Mr. Guy's house to the cross-gate. The church right reaches no farther (with a few exceptions) at this time : without that line towards the street, is in general holden under the corporation.

Very soon after the Conquest a considerable change took place in the mansions of the great and opulent ; to which those of the common people formed a miserable contrast ; as they received but very little melioration ; and continued nearly the same as they were in the time of the Saxons. The Normans in general, and more particularly their barons and great men, were a pompous people ; and being desirous to wipe out the stain of their origin, though retaining the ferocity of it, they learned the language, aped the manners, and copied the way of living of the French, as these did that of the Italians, then, and long after, esteemed the most polished people of Europe, except the Grecians.

Every

Every age has its fashion, which generally prevails throughout Europe, from Otranto to St. Petersburg, in architecture, and every thing else, in spite of the difference of circumstances. The great characteristic of the architecture of the eleventh, and several succeeding centuries, was strength and durability : from which the present, and last preceeding age, have widely departed. The castles of the Norman-English were built in a style of grandeur far superior to any thing that had ever been seen in England before ; and the mansions of the gentry, no doubt, received considerable improvement. The house mentioned before, and said in Doomsday-book, to belong to Flamen, and to be worth ten shillings a year, was most probably, what had formerly belonged to the South-Saxon kings. It was far superior to any other in town, but many degrees inferior (even when afterwards converted into the episcopal residence) to the magnificent edifice the castle of the earl near the north-gate. The four gates were evidently of Roman fabrication, except the square towers on the tops of them, these were in a different style, and were no doubt, erected by the Normans ; probably by Roger, the first earl, who repaired the
gates,

gates, walls, and moat, all of which the Saxons had suffered to go to decay. If the earl and his successors had resided constantly in Chichester, in their first state of grandeur and opulence, their presence would have been of very great advantage to it; and raised it from the condition of mediocrity in which they found it, to a state of eminence. But neither of these events took place: the residence of the earl was sometimes in the king's court; and often at Shrewsbury, where he had a castle. And through the extreme turbulence of the times it happened, that the seigniority of this city reverted to the crown, which governed it by deputies of a far inferior description, before the lordship thereof was conferred upon the earl of Arundel; and if this miss had not been in some measure compensated by the removal of the see hither from Selsea, this (even then) antient city must have fallen to decay. For almost five hundred years after the Conquest, the city derived its principal support, directly or indirectly, from the church: during which time the superior clergy were of great importance in the state: their wealth considerable, and their power not less.

I cannot

I cannot avoid believing, though I can adduce no direct proof that earl Roger, after he was invested with the seigniority of Chichester—after the alienation of property, as far as it reached, was completed, and the new guild established on the ruins of the old, confirmed to the portgrave and citizens, the immunities and privileges which the city had enjoyed under the Saxon and Danish kings. The charter of king Stephen, which the reader will find in the Appendix, makes this conjecture not improbable; to which we may add, that without such an act of courtesy or equity, either from the king or from him, the magistrates, whatever name they bore, would have had no power to act. The charter which the Conqueror granted to the city of London, is “Willm
 “Kynge grete Willm Bishop and Godfreye portrerve,
 “and all the burgeis within London, Frenshe and
 “Englisse, and I graunte you that I wyll that ye be
 “al your laweworth that ye were in Edwardis dayes,
 “the king. And I wyll that ich childe be his fadir’s
 “eyer. And I nyle suffer that ony man you any
 “wrongis beed. And God you kepe.”* Translated
 from the Saxon language A. D. 1314.

The

* Stowe’s Surv. p. 740.

The attentive reader will perceive with what reluctance the king uses the Saxon word portgrave, and perhaps will be of opinion that though no regular charters of incorporation were issued from the crown to any city or borough in England, before the reign of king John, yet had they an existence long before, as corporate bodies, to a certain extent of activity, by powers derived either directly or indirectly from the throne. In the reign of Henry the second, the building of the houses here, excepting those of the inferior order, began to be more attended to, and therefore to be improved to a certain degree, those of the superior clergy, the principal citizens, and the manerial messuages: so likewise were the streets in that reign, or soon after. The holes and sloughs in them were filled up with stones and gravel, dug, I have not the least doubt, from the place since called Dell-hole. But it was long, very long after, that is about the time of the seventh Henry, before they began to pitch any part of them. The principal inhabitants, for their own convenience, first began to do that part of the street that was opposite their own premises; some others, in time, followed their example, by which means it

came

came to pass, that all uniformity was excluded till the eighteenth year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, (A. D. 1576) when the mayor and citizens obtained an act of parliament to enable them to pave the whole: on a plan deserving praise, for the time; but very greatly inferior to that which was lately adopted in the year 1791, in respect both of elegance and use.

The bed of the street is considerably higher in some places at least, than it was formerly. In digging for a proper foundation for the present council-chamber, anno 1731, they found at the depth of nearly three feet, a Roman pavement, reaching as far as they went, about an hundred yards towards saint Martin's square.

I am weary of thus journeying in the dark, and with the uncertain and fallible pencil of conjecture, marking the boundaries, and describing the state of this *terra incognita*, and shall therefore bring this view to a conclusion, as speedily as may be.

The Norman barons, as soon as they had their different possessions assigned to them, after the Conquest in this country, by the liberality or justice of the Conqueror, lost no time, but began immediately

to

to raise upon them castles, both as mansions of residence and places of defence. In the reign of the second Henry, the houses of the gentry began to exhibit a more comfortable and decent appearance. In towns in general (and therefore in Chichester) the first visible change in the habitations of the middle-
ing people was in the reigns of Henry the third, and Edward the first, in consequence of the encouragement which they and king John had given them, in order to enable them, by their wealth and importance, to act as a counterpoise to the exorbitant power of the barons; which it was the study of the crown, during many succeeding reigns, to depress. To this end every attention and fostering care was bestowed on the corporations which it was in the power of the crown to extend to them. During the dissensions between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, this partiality was checked in its operation which it would otherwise have produced. But when these jarring claims were united in the person of Henry VII. a great and visible change ensued; as the king himself was a patron and promoter of commerce and navigation: both of which he understood better than any other prince in Europe. The agriculture
of

of the country he raised from a very languishing condition, to a tolerably flourishing state; by meliorating and raising the condition of the villaine, (peasant) and depressing the power of the barons. These measures tended greatly to the advantage, and improvement of Chichester, in supplying it with wealth, and in consequence, with those conveniencies which wealth procures. Had his son and successor followed the prudent maxims of his father, they would, in the issue, have conduced much more to the prosperity and happiness of the kingdom in general, than those which he adopted. I do not know that the calamities and blood-sheddings of several of the reigns after him are charged by our historians on his memory, as they might be without impropriety. The great revolutions in empires, in their due course, their natural orbits, if I may so call them, proceed slowly, if their motion be not deranged, and their crisis accelerated by some foreign impulse. Such was the reformation of religion in England: the public mind was not fully prepared for the reception of it, at the time, and in the manner in which the furious torrent of Henry's impetuous passions obtruded it upon this kingdom. The
shades

shades of intellectual night were passing away in silent progress; the day began to dawn; and the sun of religion, in due course, would have risen upon us (unobscured with blood) and dispelled, in easy process, every mist of error, delusion, and superstition from our Sion.

From the reign of Henry the seventh, to that of Elizabeth, including a period of almost half a century, the prosperity of Chichester advanced very little, if any thing. Peace is always propitious, always conducive to happiness, and the enjoyment of every blessing. That great princess (Elizabeth) evinced a regard and love for her subjects, in nothing more than in her securing to them that great national blessing. Under her auspices, in the enjoyment of public tranquility, the husbandman pursued his peaceful employment; and raised the agriculture of the kingdom to an higher degree of perfection than it had ever reached before. During that, and the next succeeding reign, (that of James) we may safely affirm that this city advanced in opulence—that the mansions of the people were more commodious, and their habits of living more comfortable than they had been before; reckoning from the first coming of the Saxons into these parts.

On the whole, perhaps there is no other sure criterion of calculating the improvement or declension of any place, but by ascertaining the presence or absence of the means of improvement which it enjoys or wants; for this latter will follow the other as invariably as the shadow does the body.

But to return to the time of the Conquest. It is the general opinion that the house in Chichester, now called the Friary, was originally built by earl Roger Montgomery; that on receiving from the king, the grant of the city, &c. he pitched on that spot as a proper place on which to build a castle of residence for himself; caused it to be marked out, and walled round, to the amount of about ten acres. The testimony of tradition, always respectable, is for the most part well founded; but not invariably so: especially when it descends to particulars. Every person, the least acquainted with antient architecture, in viewing the Friary in its present state, will be convinced that a considerable part of the building, still remaining, is of higher antiquity than the Conquest. In several places (in the old building) the walls are of flint, the arches a kind of ellipsis, and turning down at each end in an angle (some more, some less) from
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an hundred to an hundred and thirty or forty degrees. Many of the windows, and some of the door-places, have the gothic arch inclosed in a square or long square. In many instances, the original design is confounded with the repairs of after ages, though still visible, still legible, for the most part. There are other circumstances which join to prove the superior antiquity of the Friary. The wall which separates the precinct from the city is built in the same manner, and of like materials as the city walls, which are confessedly of Roman fabrication. That the mount, whoever made it, was raised in order to erect a tower or citadel on it is plain; the foundations thereof may be traced all round the top, except the part opposite to the glacis; the mortar, or rather cement, is as hard as the stones themselves. The scite, or the situation of the mount, on the very place most proper to defend their lines,* is a satisfactory proof of its being raised by the Romans.—From whence I conclude, that, as the Roman prætor, and the officers belonging to the civil depart-

P 2

ment,

* The fort without the walls, and joining to the walls on the north-east corner; the foundation of which, still remains in the garden belonging to Mr. James Dawes.

ment, resided in the south-west quarter of the city ; so all the military officers were stationed in the north-east quarter, in mansions proportioned to their rank and dignity. From the nature of some part of the ground in the park or paddock, it is plain that the castle of earl Roger Montgomery, with its appurtenances, occupied a great deal more room than the present building. After the expulsion of that family, the seigniority or lordship of the city was vested in the earl of Arundel and his heirs ; but whether the castle was given to them likewise may admit of some doubt ; it is said indeed that it was granted by William, the fourth earl, to the fraternity of grey friars, A. D. 1233 ; but as the deed is not on record, we can only say that it is probable ; and that it was his influence with the king (Henry III.) that procured the lands called the Broile, and other lands to be granted to the see of Chichester. He was a great favourite with Henry, and “ a strenuous advocate for
 “ his prerogative, which he maintained with all his
 “ power, against the rights and liberties of his oppressed countrymen.”*

There are in the city other remains of Roman building besides those in the Friary: among which I reckon

* Antiq. of Arund. p. 62.

reckon the Canon-gate, and some of the adjoining building. Bishop Shurborne repaired the gate-way, it is true, and put his arms upon it, but that was all; the foundation, and the greatest part of the superstructure is evidently Roman: so also are the vaults in the South-street, at present in the occupation of Mr. Redman, wine-merchant, with the buildings over them for a considerable way towards the cloisters, including the old concert-room.

At the time of the Conquest, almost all the houses in Chichester were of wood, and covered with straw, rushes, or reeds—this was the case throughout the whole kingdom, and even in London, the metropolis. The castle of the earl, there can be no doubt, was built of stone, and covered with tiles, slate and lead. From the remains of the abbey we see that also was of stone. Whether there were any other stone-building here is very doubtful. Even the bishop's palace, it is most probable was of wood, as the first cathedral church certainly was; and it is not reasonable to suppose that Ralph, the bishop, would have built his own house of stone, and the cathedral church of inferior materials.

In each ward of the city there was a well,

which was railed round; to which the inhabitants had a right to repair for water, each house to its proper well. Four of these wells remain to this day, as pumps, are a modern improvement.*

No city in Europe, except Rome, at this time had their streets paved. In England many centuries elapsed before that mode was adopted. In the reign of Henry the fifth, A. D. 1417, the metropolis led the way in that, as it has done in most other improvements; some part of Holborn being paved by order of the king; but many years elapsed before even the principal streets in London enjoyed that convenience. Chichester was first uniformly paved in the reign of queen Elizabeth—having obtained an act of parliament for that purpose in the eighteenth year of her reign, as said before. The water-course, or gutter, was in the middle of the street, and continued so till the year 1791, when an act of parliament was passed for new paving the streets and lanes. The foot-path was not regularly and *uniformly* paved with flat stones till lately. In the year 1724, “The walls of the city, with the ramparts, were re-
“paired,

* Pumps were first introduced into Europe about the year 1425, and into England not before 1512 or 1513.

“ paired, and the walks on the north and east-walls,
 “ were levelled by the right honourable lord William
 “ Beauclerk, representative in parliament for the
 “ city, in the mayoralty of George Harris.”*

It may be worth remarking here, because I believe it is not generally known, that at this time, none of the dwelling houses in England, the castles excepted, had any chimnies belonging to them; the smoke went out at the door or windows, or where it found vent. This was the case for a succession of many years; in time, as an improvement or rather corrective, of that inconvenient method, they made an opening in the roof directly over the fire-place, in which they placed a wooden-frame, nearly square, reaching from the roof above the house, of no determinate height. This inconvenient mode continued all the time that the building of wood alone did: when the mixt building (part wood and part brick) took place, then, and not before, the use of chimnies was adopted. It is known that neither the Greeks nor Romans had chimnies in their houses of any description.

P 4

cription.

* Taken from a stone erected on one of the bastions on the north-walls commemorative of the donation.—Perhaps it would have been more accurate to have denominated him ONE of the representatives of the city.

cription. The first accounts that we have of their introduction into Italy, is in the year 1347, when some, and but few, persons in Venice and Padua, adopted that mode of building, which at this day is not used in the highlands, and many other parts of Scotland.

I know that the memory of William is loaded with the imputation of having introduced the curfew bell into England, as a badge of slavery on the inhabitants; but I think this charge is laid upon him in some measure unjustly; for sufficient evidence might be adduced that the same regulation prevailed, and had long prevailed, in France, Spain, Italy, Scotland, and most probably in every other country of Europe, as a necessary precaution against fires; which were very fatal when houses were built of wood. Yet so great and so general an imputation attaches to his memory on this score, even to this day, that it can hardly be supposed to be unfounded at first: it is probable then that the tyranny consisted in the manner of enforcing the regulation.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE HOUSES IN CHICHESTER STRIPT OF THE LANDS BELONGING TO EACH—NUMBER OF HOUSES AT THE CONQUEST—ACCOUNT OF THE MONTGOMERY FAMILY—OF THE OTHER NORMAN BARONS WHO HAD MANORS IN SUSSEX—EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, LAST OF THE ENGLISH NOBILITY, EXECUTED.

KING William held Bosham in domain. In the city every species of property was transferred to the Normans, and most of the houses received new occupants; with this difference in many instances, that whereas before the Conquest, in the time of the Saxons, and most probably before, every house in the city had a certain portion of land belonging to it, now the land was detached from it. All the lands on Portfield, both the Broiles, Grayling-well, and the meadows to the south of the city, belonged to houses in the town; and were considered as part and parcel of the same. The monastery, the clergy, and the manors, still retained the lands belonging to each respectively.

respectively. At the extremity of St. Pancrass a few paces within the boundary, there was a mill, called the King's mill, for the use of the inhabitants; the ruins of which still point out the place where it stood. On the Lavant-course were three other mills, that of Hampnett, now in the possession of Mr. Knott—one between Hampnett and Lavant, in the marshes, the scite still discernible—and the other near Appledram, in the meadows, opposite to Appledram-common.*

Though the number of houses in Chichester, taken in the survey, be only $283\frac{1}{2}$, it is probable
there

* The Lavant is a very irregular stream; sometimes (generally in the winter and spring) running in a full current; at other times (commonly in the summer and autumn) the water disappearing in the marshes between Lavant and Hampnett, and leaving the bed quite dry. Had this been the case in the times of the Belgæ, Romans, and Britons, the moat round the city-walls would not have been supplied with water regularly, but only occasionally, when the stream flowed. Hence a probability arises that it has undergone a change. By history we are informed that in the years of our Lord 1076, 1088, 1185, 1233, 1275, 1320, 1381, 1383, &c. there were great earthquakes in England. That which happened 1088 is said to have been so great that it shook the whole kingdom—in A. D. 1185, so violent that it threw down many houses, churches, and other great buildings, in divers places. It may therefore be that in some of these great concussions of nature, the strata under the bed of the river received such new arrangement and modification as to affect its course at some times and not at others.

there were several more. The survey was made purely with a view to taxation ; and therefore all houses that were too mean to be taxed were passed over, and not mentioned in the account given to the commissioners, and by them to the exchequer. That many of the slaves inhabited houses, and half-houses. (as the cottagers in every part of England do now) can hardly be doubted ; but the houses were too mean, and themselves too insignificant, to be subject to any public assessment whatever. That it was so, the very number itself ending with a fraction is a convincing proof. The Doomsday-book mentions only the houses belonging to the earl and the manors ; but it is more than barely probable that several persons of respectability, who belonged to neither of these, lived in it. One is mentioned (Humphry Flamen) who had a house of ten shillings value, and it is probable there were several more of the same description. So that if we take these, and the wretched huts and half-huts of the unhappy slaves, and others, into the account, and add them to the number above-mentioned, we may without exaggeration, estimate the houses at four hundred and fifty, and the number of inhabitants not much under three thousand.

thousand. The two West-lanes, it is true, were very thinly inhabited, if at all, and added very little, if any thing, to the population ; but in other respects, both the city and the suburbs were as extensive, and occupied the same space as now. In St. Pancrass are several houses holden under the manor of Halnaker to this day.*

The family of Montgomery did not long retain the vast possessions and honors which the Conqueror had heaped upon them : Robert de Belesmè, (Belemy) the last of them, being out-lawed for rebellion by Henry I. A. D. 1102 : so that the time they enjoyed the supremacy of Chichester and Arundel, and their other possessions in England, was not more than thirty-six years. As they were men of great power and influence both in Chichester, and throughout the kingdom, while they continued in power, it will not be deemed a digression to give a brief account of each

* Not many years ago the steward of lord Selsea, lord of the manor of Stoughton, demanded and received fourteen years quit-rent for one or more houses in the North-street, as holding under the said manor. It had fifteen houses in the city, and it is very probable that they lay in that neighbourhood, and occupied all that space in the west side of the North-street, which reaches from Crane-lane to the North-gate.

each of them, to the extent of my authentic information, as far as their affairs are connected with the city and county.

Roger de Montgomery, the first earl, mentioned before, maintained a fair character, which he seems to have deserved, if we except the cruelty of his disposition, which was the vice of the times ; for whatever humanity the Normans were possessed of in Normandy, it is well known they practised none in England : and to say that Roger was not more savage than his countrymen here, is no high panegyric. In other respects his character stands high. He was a person of great prudence, and unshaken intrepidity. When Robert (the Conqueror's eldest son) rose in arms against his father, he interceded with the king, then in Normandy, in behalf of his rebellious son, and obtained his forgiveness. William died in 1087, and was succeeded on the throne of England by his second son, William Rufus. Roger at first, in conjunction with Odo, earl of Kent, the earl of Mortaigne, and other barons, endeavoured to raise Robert (the eldest son of William) to that dignity ; but was afterwards won over by Rufus to espouse his cause. He is praised by the monks as a person of great piety
and

and benevolence. He founded and richly endowed the abbey of saint Peter, Shrewsbury; and was a liberal benefactor to several religious houses, both in England and Normandy. To the see of Chichester he gave, as mentioned before; the south-west quarter of the city. Three days before his death, (in August 1094) he assumed the cowl in the abbey of Shrewsbury, and “was honourably buried in the church of that monastery.” (Vide Antiq. of Arund.)

The second earl of Chichester was Hugh de Montgomery, the second son of Roger. The Welch called him Hugh Goch, on account of his red hair. He was a monster, whom no favours could bind, no principle direct, and no laws restrain. He joined Robert de Mowbray, and other barons, in an attempt to dethrone Rufus: which attempt was quashed, and Hugh glad to make his peace with the king, by paying him a fine of three thousand pounds. In order to recover the favour of the king, he raised a powerful army, A. D. 1097, and marched against the Welch. In his march to Anglesea he committed the most horrid outrages on the defenceless inhabitants; not only slaughtering, but torturing them with the most savage fierceness. At this place he was met by
Magnus,

Magnus, king of Norway, who having conquered the Orkney-islands and that of Man, was proceeding to Anglesea, with an intention of landing there and plundering the inhabitants; but fearing an opposition he retired, after discharging a few arrows at those on shore; with one of which, Hugh was mortally wounded, and dying in Anglesea, his body was carried to Shrewsbury, and deposited in the abbey there.

The third and last earl of Chichester, of the Montgomery family, was Robert de Belesmè, the eldest son of Roger, the first earl, from whom he inherited his estates in Normandy, and on the death of Hugh, succeeded to those in England. The disposition of Robert was not less sanguinary, nor in any respect less detestable than his brother's.—Rufus was killed in the New Forest, A. D. 1100, and his younger brother, Henry, seized upon the treasures of the late king at Winchester, which were very great, and usurped the crown, to the prejudice of his eldest brother, Robert, duke of Normandy, then absent in the Holy-land. On his return he prepared to vindicate his claim to the English throne, being joined by many of the Norman nobility, and some
of

of the English; among whom he reckoned Robert de Belesmè, earl of Chichester, Sussex, &c. his two brothers, Roger and Arnulph, and several others.—As the duke of Normandy relinquished or rather sold his pretensions to the crown of England, for an annual pension of three thousand marks; it was stipulated that all the barons who had espoused his cause, should be restored to their estates and honours. But king Henry found means to evade or break through his engagements with all of them, and in a short time to accomplish their ruin. After the pacification, the earl had retired to his castle of Arundel, which (as he had no other pledge of safety but the king's plighted faith) he began to fortify, as he did his other castles. This afforded Henry a pretence for issuing a proclamation accusing him of treasonable designs, and ordering him to appear; which order as the earl did not think fit to comply with, he laid siege to him in the castle (of Arundel), from which he fled to Bridgnorth, the strongest castle that he had, which soon after was taken by storm, and the earl forced to cast himself upon the king's clemency. His life was granted to him on his petition, and likewise a safe conduct for himself, horse and arms,

arms, to the sea-coast: but all his honours and vast estates in England, were forfeited to the crown. All the earl's vassals, every person holding under him, or in any way connected with him in the towns and rapes of Chichester and Arundel, and in his numerous lordships throughout England, greatly rejoiced at his downfall and expulsion; as they were certain they could not fall into worse hands. The title of earl of Chichester was never revived to the same height of dignity and power as was enjoyed by the family of Montgomery.

The whole race of the Montgomeries were involved in the punishment and wreck of Robert de Belesmè. The third son of Roger, was Roger, earl of Poictou in France, where he resided, as did Philip* (for some time) who was a priest. The youngest

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son

* Philip, the fourth son of Roger de Montgomery, passed the first years of his life with his brother Roger, earl of Poictou; and afterwards, in the tumultuous reign of Henry I. removed to Scotland, from the king of which he had given to him "a fair inheritance in the shire of Renfrew." From him descended sir Robert Montgomery, of Eglesham, who in the reign of Richard the second, A. D. 1388, with his own hand took prisoner Henry Percy of Northumberland, known by the name of Henry Hotspur. From him is descended the noble family of Montgomery, earls of Eglinton in Scotland.

son, Arnulph, had no inheritance left to him by his father, but his arms—with these he conquered Pembroke-shire in Wales, of which he constituted himself head or chief. That he was directly engaged in rebellion against king Henry, along with his brother Robert, and the other barons, does not clearly appear; however that be, he certainly was involved in their punishment, and it is probable his life fell a sacrifice to the vengeance of the enraged king. The earl of Mortaigne and William de Warrenne, were likewise engaged in conspiracies against the kings who filled the throne soon after the Conquest, and lost their estates and honours in consequence thereof. The Count de Eu was impeached A. D. 1094, of being concerned in the conspiracy of Mowbray, and being found guilty, was condemned to have his estates confiscated, to lose his eyes, and his body in other respects mutilated. How long William de Braious retained possession of his boon, the rape of Bramber, I can find no account. Soon after the time now under consideration, that is in the reign of John, I find mention made in the history of Scotland, of — de Bruce, lord of Cantyre. We may therefore suppose that about the time the other barons lost their

their estates, for rebellion, De Braious likewise lost his for the same offence.

How precarious and how fleeting is human grandeur ! In the short space of nine year after the Conquest, of all the antient English nobility there was not one of them left in it : Waltheof, earl of Northumberland, the last of them, and who had married Judith, the Conqueror's niece, being executed for an alledged offence, on the 29th day of April, 1075, on a rising ground without the gates of Winchester. It has been remarked by some person that " the most illustriously virtuous of the English " nobility, and great men, those who best deserved " to live, have finished their lives on the block." This was fully exemplified in the case of earl Waltheof, whose life was so blameless, and his character so amiable, that even William felt some qualms on his mind, on the occasion ; and would have rescinded or mitigated the unjust sentence of his condemnation ; if he had not been goaded on by his Normans, who longed for his estates, to hasten his execution.



CHAPTER XV.

THE CASTLE OF CHICHESTER GRANTED TO THE GREY FRIARS,
AND AFTER THEM TO THE MAYOR AND CORPORATION.—
KING JOHN GRANTS A CHARTER TO THE CITY—MAGNA
CHARTA.—BUILDING OF THE CATHEDRAL.—STIGANDUS
THE FIRST BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

SOON after the expulsion of the Montgomeries from England, the lordship of Chichester was vested in William de Albini, earl of Arundel; in whose family it continued many generations. Whether any of them resided in the castle thereof cannot be determined: though it is most probable that they did not; but governed the city by a deputy, who had that assigned to him as his residence.—It has been said before that earl Roger gave the south-west quarter to the bishops of Chichester. The original grant is now lost, as I learn from the MS. notes of the late Mr. Clarke,* canon of this church, but what is

* Now in my possession by the favour of the Revd. Mr. James Clarke, his grandson.

is of equal validity, a renewal and confirmation of the said grant, by the earl of Arundel, and queen Adeliza, his wife, is in the possession of the dean and chapter.

About the year 1233, or soon after, the castle with its appurtenances, was given by William, the fourth earl of Arundel, (and last but one of the name of Albini) to the grey-friars of the order of saint Francis; in whose possession it remained as a convent, till the dissolution of the order in the reign of Henry the eighth, who afterwards in the thirty-second year of his reign, A. D. 1541, granted it to the mayor and citizens of Chichester; by whom it was let on lease to the persons mentioned in the margin, except the

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chapel,

The date of the grant is the 6th of November, 1541. Leased by the corporation to John Knott, A. D. 1543; William Appleby, 1567; and this lease assigned to John Yonge, 1580, and to Ralph Chandler 1581, and to George Goring, 1582; who made the additions. Sir John Caryll, 1602; Christopher Lewkenor, 1634, who was ousted by the parliament; William Cawley, 164—; sir Richard May, 1674; sir Hutchins Williams; sir Pere Williams; sir Booth Williams; a daughter of sir Hutchins Williams married Mr. Fonnereau, to whom it belongs at present, by leasehold tenure under the mayor and corporation. The term of the lease is 999 years—when commencing I have not found, nor is it material.

chapel, which they converted into a shire or town-hall ever since.

The honour of Arundel, in the course of a few years, appeared again in equal splendour, in the person of William de Albini, whose father (of the same name) came into England with the Conqueror. Henry the first, had settled Sussex, and the castle of Arundel, on his second queen Adeliza,* as her dower: who, on the death of her husband, (1st December, 1135) pitched upon the castle as the place of her residence. This lady married the fore-mentioned William de Albini, (called William with the strong hand, on account of his great strength) who thereby became

* Adeliza, or Adelais, was the daughter of Geoffrey, earl of Louvain, in France, who was very nearly related to the kings of France, of the Carlovignian race. In the year 1136, she (Adeliza) gave to her brother Jocelin of Louvain, the manor of Carleton, including Eastdean, Boxgrove, Lavant, &c. From him sprung the Percies of Northumberland. So that that family may boast of being descended from Charlemagne, in a line more direct and unbroken than many of the late nobility of France, who prized themselves so highly on that honour.—The manor of Carleton remained in the possession of the family of Percy more than five hundred years, till the time of Charles II. who obtained it of the earl (of Northumberland) for his son, whom he created duke of Richmond, &c. Goodwood was then, and had been for many years, an hunting seat belonging to the earl.

became possessed in right of his wife, of the castle, and therefore of the honours of earl of Arundel.*

When the empress Maude (daughter of Henry the first, of England, and relict of Henry the fifth, emperor of Germany) landed at Little-Hampton, A. D. 1139, in order to recover the crown of England, which Stephen had usurped, she was there received by William de Albini, and conducted with her attendants, to her mother-in-law, in the castle (of Arundel)—where she was soon after besieged by Stephen, and obliged to fly from thence to the castle of Bristol. Stephen died in 1154, and was succeeded by Henry Plantagenet, the empress Maude's eldest son; with whom the earl of Arundel being in great favour, was by him created earl of Sussex, and had the *tertium denarium* of all the pleas of the county granted to him, and his heirs. The family of the Albinies continued in possession of Arundel, Sussex, &c. till the year 1244, when they were succeeded

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by

* William de Albini was the handsomest man in England, perhaps in all Europe. His bare aspect attracted love and veneration—he was devout without ostentation, and a great protector of the church and clergy. His virtues and accomplishments rendered him one of the most amiable men of his age.—(Vide Ant. of Arun. p. 47.

by John Fitz-Alan, son of John Fitz-Alan, lord of Clun, and Isabel, the daughter and sole heiress of William de Albini, earl of Arundel, &c. in which family it continued through thirteen successions, three hundred and fifty years. Henry Alan the last, dying the twenty-fifth of February, 1579,* left for his heiress, a daughter Mary, who married Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk:† in which truly noble and illustrious family, the honours of Arundel remain to this day.

In the year 1213, the freemen of the city of Chichester had an amplification of their charter of incorporation granted to them by king John, in the fourteenth year of his reign; by which they were to be governed by a mayor, recorder, and an unlimited number of aldermen and common-council, together with

* Antiq. of Arund.

† The history of this great prince, who lived in the reign of Elizabeth, is so well known, that it would be superfluous here to say any thing concerning it. The sentence of condemnation for high-treason which was passed upon him, affected the blood of his son Philip, as duke of Norfolk — but the honour of Arundel was not affected thereby, it was local, and descended to him by his mother, lady Mary Fitz-Alan; in whose right he was earl of Arundel and owner of Arundel-castle: and had summons to parliament by that right, the twenty-third year of Elizabeth. — See Antiq. of Arund.

with four sergeants at mace: vesting them with power to try and determine all causes of trespass, &c. committed within their jurisdiction—to make byelaws for their internal government, &c. in the same form and efficacy as all the charters were then, and have since been written.*

This favour conferred on the borough (for which notwithstanding they were obliged to pay a very considerable doceur, or oblation, to the king, and another to the queen, called “aurum reginæ,” or queen-gold†) was a measure of policy on the part of John, who was involved in many difficulties and distresses, in consequence of his tyranny and maladministration. He wished to rule in the most arbitrary way, and his barons, who, in general were as great tyrants as he, could not bear to think of submitting to that severity of oppression from the crown, which they very freely exercised upon their vassals and dependents. Every charter which the king granted to the boroughs, was a local abridgment of the
power

* The charter of the city of London was six years earlier, being dated A. D. 1207.

† Maddox's Hist. Excheq. Ch. X.—Brady on Burghs. var. loc.

power and authority of the barons, where it operated; and likewise, in effect, a kind of rival power, in opposition to them, the more grating to them, in every point of view, as they looked upon it as an act of encroachment, whereby their own property was surreptitiously filched from them, and converted into an engine to be employed against themselves. But John, who never respected the justice, but the expedience of any measure, regarded none of those considerations.

Two years after this, that is A. D. 1215, June 19, king John was obliged to grant another charter, of a very different nature, and different tendency, as it respected him, and the power of the crown; namely the great charter of the nation, known by the name of Magna Charta; which was not granted voluntarily by him, but wrung from him by mere force: the conditions of which, had he lived, it was his fixt determination not to fulfil. This charter, so favourable to the nobility, tended very little to meliorate the condition of the lower classes of the people: it sheltered them indeed, in common with their lords, from the tyranny of the crown, in some cases; but it left them equally as before, subject to
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the oppression of the barons : an oppression which they felt more sensibly than they did that of the king. When this palladium of English liberty, as it is called, was executed at Runnimeade by the king, William de Albini was with him, and of his party : but afterwards took an oath to obey the twenty-five lords who were appointed conservators to see that the articles of it, and that called "De Foresta," were fulfilled. He (William) died A. D. 1222, on his return from the Holy-land ; and left behind him an excellent character, both in private and public life, and also of being a strenuous asserter of the rights and liberty of mankind.

I cannot inform the reader who were the magistrates in the city at that time : whoever they were, they came into office when the whole kingdom was greatly convulsed ; when the king was deposed from his throne, by the fulminating voice of the Roman pontiff—and his subjects, by the same authority, absolved from their oaths of allegiance, and the king of France preparing to invade the kingdom, in execution of the papal sentence. Such was the time ; a time which required the utmost exertions of courage, guided by steady prudence, in the magistrate,

to save the city from internal agitation, and external calamity. Nicholas de Aquila was then bishop of Chichester, and, however paradoxical it may appear in the present day, as bishop was possessed of more power and influence than the magistrates of any corporation in the kingdom, London perhaps excepted. The bishop, no doubt, would support the cause of his patroness, Rome, in preference, and even in opposition to that of the king. But soon the rapid scene changes, the king of England resigns his crown to the holy-see, and becomes the pope's vassal, and Philip, king of France, ordered by the holy father to desist from attempting any thing against his son and servant, the king of England: with which orders the mighty monarch was forced to comply.—“ Thus in
 “ these days of darkness did a weak old man, pos-
 “ sessed of little earthly power, but sole monarch of
 “ superstition, more powerful than enchantment,
 “ direct the actions and dispose of the destinies of
 “ the most powerful potentates, at his pleasure !”

I have said before that the present cathedral church of Chichester was built by Seffrid II. bishop of the diocese. In the beginning of his reign, William the Conqueror, had given orders that all cathedral-
 churches

churches should be removed from villages to cities, and therefore Lanfranc, the arch-bishop of Canterbury, in a provincial synod, holden at saint Paul's in London, soon after his elevation, decreed that this order of the king should be fulfilled as soon as might be. Stigand was then bishop of this diocese, and was succeeded therein A. D. 1087, by Godfrey, who died the next year—and the see was vacant three years. In A. D. 1091, Ralph "*became bishop.*" (See Le Neve.) This prelate, immediately after his promotion, began to make the necessary preparations for building; but as the country was very much drained of money by the rapacity of the Conqueror and his son Rufus, he found it impossible for him to make any progress therein, or even to lay the foundation, before the accession of Henry I. to the throne; under whose auspices the worthy bishop was enabled to begin and to compleat the work he had so much at heart, and which had so long been in agitation. The cathedral was finished in the year 1108: but being built of wood, was burned to the ground on the 9th of May, 1114.

In the year following, the bishop began to rebuild; and finished the second fabric before his death,

death, which happened the fourteenth of December, 1123—having been bishop of this diocese thirty-two years. Whether this second fabric was constructed of wood too, I no where find mentioned ; but it is most probable that it was, as it was burned about the year 1180, with the houses of the clergy, and almost all the city.

Seffrid II. the seventh bishop of Chichester, was consecrated the seventeenth of October, 1180, and immediately began to make preparations to rebuild the church, in a superior style of magnificence and durability. At the same time this worthy prelate rebuilt the episcopal palace, the cloisters, and the commons' houses : and finished the whole vast undertaking, in the space of fourteen years. On the thirteenth of September, 1199, he consecrated the church with great splendour and magnificence, being assisted by six other bishops. He gave the parsonage of Seaford, and other valuable benefactions, to the church. After having filled this see more than twenty-three years, with honour and advantage, he died the 17th of March, 1204. His effigy cut in black marble, is on the south-side of the door of the duke of Richmond's vault, opposite to bishop Ralph's, which is on the north side thereof.

The expence of erecting this magnificent and elegant cathedral, with the palace, &c. must have been very great, even at that time when money was comparatively much more valuable than it is now. No one can suppose that the fund, for that purpose, was derived from the bishop's estate, either real or personal. Henry II. king of England, was a great and magnificent prince, it is true: but his time, attention, and resources, were all engrossed by cares and undertakings of very different natures. The following quotation, taken from a modern author, of approved veracity and intelligence, will throw some light upon this subject, and inform the reader by what means most of the cathedral churches in England were built. “ As the prodigious power of religious zeal, whatever turn it happens to take, when it is thoroughly heated, is well known, it may not be improper to give one example of the arts employed by the clergy and monks of this period, to inflame the pious ardour of the kings, nobles, and people, for building and adorning churches. When Joffred, abbot of Croyland, resolved to rebuild the church of his monastery, in a most magnificent manner, A. D. 1106, he obtained

“ tained from the arch-bishops of Canterbury and
 “ York, a bull, dispensing with the third part of all
 “ penances for sin, to those who contributed any
 “ thing towards the building of that church. This
 “ bull was directed not only to the king, and people
 “ of England, but to the kings of France and Scot-
 “ land, and to all other kings, earls, barons, arch-
 “ bishops, bishops, abbots, priors, rectors, presby-
 “ ters, and clerks, and to all true believers in Christ,
 “ rich and poor in all Christian kingdoms. To make
 “ the best use of this bull, he sent two of his most
 “ eloquent monks to proclaim it over all France and
 “ Flanders, two other monks into Scotland, two
 “ into Denmark and Norway, two into Wales, Corn-
 “ wall and Ireland, and others into different parts of
 “ England.” “ By this means (says the historian*)
 “ the wonderful benefits granted to all the contribu-
 “ tors to the building of this church, were published
 “ to the very ends of the earth; and great heaps of
 “ treasure and masses of yellow metal, flowed in
 “ from all countries, upon the venerable abbot
 “ Joffred, and encouraged him to lay the foundation
 “ of his church.” “ Having spent about four years in
 “ collecting

* P. Blesen's Contin. Hist. Ingulph. p. 113—120.

“ collecting mountains of different kinds of marble,
 “ from quarries both at home and abroad, together
 “ with great quantities of lime, iron, brass, and other
 “ materials for building, he fixed upon a day for the
 “ great ceremony of laying the foundation, which
 “ he contrived to make a very powerful mean of
 “ raising the super-structure. For on the long ex-
 “ pected day, the first of the holy-virgins, Felicitas
 “ and Perpetua, an immense multitude of earls, barons
 “ and knights, with their ladies and families, of abbots,
 “ priors, monks, nuns, clerks, and persons of all ranks,
 “ arrived at Croyland, to assist at this ceremony.
 “ The pious abbot Joffred began by saying certain
 “ prayers, and shedding a flood of tears, on the
 “ foundation. Then each of the earls, barons, knights,
 “ with their ladies, sons and daughters, the abbots,
 “ clerks and others, laid a stone, and upon it depo-
 “ sited a sum of money, a grant of lands, tithes or
 “ patronages, or a promise of stone, lime, wood,
 “ labour or carriages, for building the church. After
 “ this the abbot entertained the whole company,
 “ amounting to five-thousand persons, at dinner.
 “ To this entertainment they were well entitled; for
 “ the money, and grants of different kinds, which

“ they had deposited on the foundation-stones, were
 “ alone sufficient to have raised a very noble fabric.
 “ By such arts as these, the clergy inspired kings,
 “ nobles, and people of all ranks, with so ardent a
 “ desire for these pious works, that in the course of
 “ this period, almost all the sacred edifices in Eng-
 “ land were rebuilt, and many hundreds of new ones
 “ raised from the foundation. Nor was this spirit
 “ confined to England, but prevailed as much in
 “ Scotland, in proportion to its extent and riches.
 “ King David I. alone, besides several cathedrals,
 “ and other churches, built no fewer than thirteen
 “ abbies and priories, some of which were very mag-
 “ nificent structures.”*† The reverend and learned
 historian says, that the religious zeal of that age
 sprung from superstition. That the religion of the
 time was tinged with superstition, all over Europe,
 there can be no doubt; but it does not follow from
 thence, that the persons who so bountifully contri-
 buted to these great works of taste and utility, were
 influenced solely thereby, and not by a principle
 purely religious. No two things can be more dis-
 tinct,

* Spottiswood's Relig. Houses.

† Henry's Hist. Gr. Brit. Vol. VI. p. 181.

ting, I might say more opposite, than the religion of Christ, and superstition ; but the weakness of human reason is such, that man cannot always discriminate between truth and error, reality and delusion; and therefore philanthropy would willingly overlook a small shade of superstition in matters of speculation, rather than sigh over the total absence of religion.

The first bishop of Chichester, and the first who resided in Chichester, was Stigand, promoted by the Conqueror on Whitsunday, 1070. Le Neve says, that he removed his see “most probably not before the year 1082, for in that year he is styled bishop of Selsea.” Stigand, or Stigandus, was a Norman by birth, a people who are known to have studied magnificence in their manner of living: and therefore I think it is probable, that he did not reside in Selsea at all—which is a retired peninsula—and the episcopal residence, not fit to be called a palace, and by no means inviting to a person of that turn.

When the government of the city reverted to the king, he appointed a bailiff or steward, to receive the annual payments, and to transmit the same to

the exchequer, for the king's use : and vested with delegated authority for the maintenance of peace, and the administration of justice. This state of things did not continue long : in a few years the government, &c. was given to the earl of Arundel, as said before.

CHAPTER XVI.

REVENUES OF THE KINGS OF THE NORMAN LINE—HOW DERIVED.—THEIR RAPACITY, INJUSTICE, AVERSION AGAINST THE ENGLISH—ENDEAVOUR TO EXTIRPATE THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE—BY WHAT MEANS PRESERVED.—LEARNING OF THE TIME PROMOTED BY THE NORMANS.—OF THE SCIENCES—WHERE TAUGHT—NECESSARY ARTS.—TRADE OF ENGLAND—BALANCE FAVOURABLE.

I SHALL not repeat what I have before said, concerning the abject and miserable condition of the people at this time. William acquired the crown of England by conquest—by that right, the lands in the kingdom, and property of every kind, belonged to him. He retained one thousand four hundred and twenty-two manors in his own possession: the rest he distributed among the barons and others, who had followed his standard in the expedition. But none of his grants were absolute and unconditional: even the most ample and liberal of them contained conditions on the part of those who received them,

of homage and fealty to the king, personal attendance in his court when required, and military service in the field. The spiritual barons (arch-bishops, bishops, &c.) were subject to the same military service as the temporal. From the Domesday-book it appears, that the whole kingdom contained sixty thousand two hundred and fifteen knights fees;* of which twenty-eight thousand one hundred and fifteen belonged to the church.

The king retained for himself and successors, reserved or quit-rents, from every manor which he granted; the wardships of all the minors among his vassals; the right of permitting or forbidding the marriage of any of them, male and female; a sum of money from every heir when he came to his estate. He reserved likewise what they called scutage, which was a kind of commutation tax, whereby certain descriptions of persons were excused from actual service in the field. To these were added aids, to enable him to make his son a knight, to marry his daughter, and to ransom his person when taken prisoner.

All these services and prestrations the immediate vassals of the crown paid to the sovereign, and
exacted

* Twenty pounds per ann. was a knight's fee.

exacted the same of the vassals under them ; as these again in many, very many, cases did of their sub-vassals. “ By this means (says the historian) all “ the distressful servitudes of the feudal system descended from the sovereign to the meanest possessor of land by military tenure, becoming heavier “ as they descended lower.”*

The revenues of the Norman kings were equal to the other advantages which they enjoyed ; for which revenue and advantages they did not think themselves indebted to the generosity and good-will of the people, but to their own valour and fortune in war. Besides all the revenues arising from the royal domains, and from the other sources just mentioned, money flowed into the exchequer from escheats and forfeitures, in great abundance, in these turbulent times—from ecclesiastical vacancies, from tallages—a certain arbitrary tax levied upon cities, towns, tenants, &c.—from the Danegeldt, which continued to be levied in every county by the sheriffs, and paid by them into the exchequer—from amer-ciements, which were imposed in the most arbitrary manner, and on the most frivolous pretences ; if a

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person

* Henry, Vol. VI. p. 20.

person was able to pay a fine that alone was a sufficient reason to levy it upon him—from moneyage, i. e. for not debasing the coin—from farming of counties, cities, and boroughs—from profits of law-proceedings in all courts of justice; two-thirds of which belonged to the king, and one-third to the earl, chief-magistrate, &c.—from queen-money—from the exchequer of the Jews; a tax levied upon that unhappy people for permitting them to remain in the kingdom, to trade and to receive usury—from tolls at bridges, fairs, &c.—and from customs on goods imported or exported. But the most dishonourable source of their revenue was the *free-gifts*, given by the people to obtain justice, or procure injustice, i. e. to decide a cause favourably. In short (what they called) justice was openly sold:* “and
 “ no office of emolument could be obtained but by
 “ purchase. For money they sold their love and
 “ their hatred—were pleased or angry—friends or
 “ foes, as they were paid. To complete their shame
 “ all these articles of their revenues are regularly
 “ entered upon the public records; where they still
 “ remain, indelible monuments of their venality and
 “ disgrace.”†

It

* Henry's Hist. G. Brit.—† Madox's Hist. Excheq. C. XIII.

It is impossible to conceive any plan better adapted for the regular, speedy, and effectual administration of justice, than the Anglo-Saxon courts. But the Normans suffered this goodly fabric of easy justice to fall to the ground, and on the ruins of it, reared a ghastly pile of tremendous aspect; fit only for a Draco to establish, and a Jeffries to preside in. In the year 1095, William separated the ecclesiastical court from the civil; prohibiting the bishops from sitting as judges, and the clergy from attending as suitors in the county courts: thus forming the clergy into a separate state, under a foreign dominion; which in the issue was productive of much public confusion. At his coronation he took an oath "to keep and establish right laws; to prevent rapine and unjust judgment;" but through the whole of his reign he acted in direct opposition to this solemn engagement; taking effectual care that the customs and laws of Normandy should be observed and obeyed in England. "The English (says Ingulphus, who had been secretary to William) were so much despised and abominated, that whatever their merit might be, they were deprived of all their offices, and strangers of inferior abilities, put into their places."

By

By which means it came to pass, that in the course of very few years, all the great officers, both in church and state, were Normans. In consequence, as all the judges and pleaders in the courts of law were foreigners, the French language was necessarily introduced, and the English tongue banished from thence. This was attended with great confusion and interruption in the administration of what they called justice, and produced many and great changes in the forms of the deeds, &c. It was the wish and endeavour of the Conqueror, and the kings of the Norman-line, to eradicate the English language entirely from hence, and substitute the French, or rather the Norman-French, in its stead. But though this was the wish of the Normans, it was not the intention of Providence, that the English language should perish ; and every lover of the sciences and literature will rejoice at the event. The native English, though oppressed, despised, and harrassed in every possible way, clung to their language as the sheet-anchor of their hope, as the last remaining monument of their ever having had an existence : and at last prevailed. The contest was long, more than three hundred years in duration, till the reign
of

of Henry the fourth. The Conqueror and the succeeding kings, ordained, and very strictly enjoined, not only that the French language should be used in all law-proceedings, but that also in all the schools throughout the kingdom, the young children and others, should be taught that language only. To balance these injurious measures on the side of power in some degree, the attachment of the English to their vernacular tongue, seemed to increase in the same proportion as the means that were used to extinguish it.—The Latin tongue was studied with great assiduity by all who were of the learned professions, or aspired to any reputation therein. And it may be asserted with truth, that the Latinity of no age from the decline of learning, (on the fall of the Roman empire in the west) to the revival of it, was so elegant as that of the twelfth century.* The change in the manner of their education of youth, first began about the eighth or ninth year of the reign of Richard the second, A. D. 1385. When “the
 “lore in gramer-scole was changed, and the con-
 “struction of Frenche into Engliche:” as we are informed by Trevisa, an author who wrote at the same time.

In

* Univers. Hist.—Paris.

In the beginning of his reign, William I. first introduced that barbarous institution, the judicial combat, into the code of English jurisprudence; a dishonourable relic of which, duelling, still remains among us, to disgrace the national character. In the turbulent reign of Stephen, the pandects of Justinian were first brought into England from Rome, by arch-bishop Theobald; and laid the foundation for the study of the civil law here. In 1164, Henry II. enacted the famous constitutions of Clarendon, with a view to bring the clergy again under the power of the civil jurisdiction: but experienced great opposition from the pope, the arch-bishop, Becket, and from all the clergy. “Against the arch-bishop, the king was so much enraged, that (as he himself had fled out of the kingdom) he apprehended all his relations and dependants, to the number of four hundred persons, men, women and children; confiscated every thing that belonged to them, and banished them out of the kingdom, in the middle of winter, A. D. 1165: making the adults take an oath that they would repair to the place where the arch-bishop was, and present themselves to him.” (Vide Henry.) As this was done without trial, or
even

even suspicion of guilt, on the part of the persons seized, it shews the great power of the kings of England in those days; and also that unlimited power however acquired, whether it arises from force or corruption, is an engine not fit to be trusted in mortal hands.

The great charter was intended to soften the rigour of the feudal system, as far as the great were concerned—but it was a long time before it answered that purpose. The castles of the barons were no better than dens of robbers—the chief there presided in the midst of his vassals, clad in compleat armour; prepared either to ravage the adjoining country, or to pounce upon the unwary traveller. The woods also were infested by desperadoes, who subsisted not by industry, but plunder. This was the case with the weald of Sussex, which harboured several gangs of this description, who attached themselves to, and were under the command of some savage chieftain, who had acquired a name and reputation for great bodily strength, and more than common ferocity. Such were the two notorious robbers known by the name of Robin Hood* and Little John, who lived in the days of Richard I.

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* The history of this noted freebooter is not wholly fabulous.

Though the coming of the Normans was productive of much misery and distress in England, it must be acknowledged that it was also the occasion of several advantages, in the issue, which could not have accrued, if that or some revolution in the political world had not happened. The Danish kings of England were not remarkable for patronising the arts and sciences. William I. had himself received a liberal education in his native country ; and endeavoured both in Normandy and in England, to encourage learning, &c. as much as the extreme turbulence of his reign could permit. This he did, not out of any regard to the unhappy people of this country, whom he and the Normans in general, both despised and hated, but with a view to root out the English language, and plant the French in the room of it.

Not

He is said to have been of noble family. At the time mentioned, and for centuries afterwards the country was infested by numerous gangs of armed banditti, who set law (and almost government) at defiance. The scene of his exploits (such as they were) was Sherwood, near Nottingham, and Yorkshire. A price was set on his head by Hubert Walter, arch-bishop of Canterbury and justiciary of England : in consequence of which, on his falling ill, and going to the monastery of Berkley, in Yorkshire, to be blooded, his person was recognised, and instead of the operation which he required, they bled him to death in the year 1197.

Not only grammar was taught at this time, but also rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, physics, ethics, divinity, the canon-law, the civil-law, the common-law, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, astrology, and medicine. If we except the Latin tongue, the other branches of learning were not studied with much success. Their logic was the Aristotelian, which in fact is only the art of quibbling ad infinitum. Their metaphysics and philosophy tended to confound, but by no means to enlighten the understanding. Their fondness for the logic of Aristotle infected all the sciences—their divinity was the school divinity; and the teachers and professors of it, the schoolmen. Geometry was studied only as it led to astronomy; and astronomy itself as an introduction to astrology. Of their knowledge of the canon-law in those days, and several succeeding centuries, no high encomium can be given. John of Salisbury says of it, that “the laws themselves were become traps and snares; in which plain honest men, who were unacquainted with legal quirks and subtleties, were caught.” Of their knowledge in the civil and common-law, I am incompetent to form an opinion.—Their knowledge in arithmetic must have been very bounded before the

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the use of the Arabian digits, in the twelfth century.* The few treatises which were written therein, even in the sixteenth century, are very defective. In medicine their theories seemed profound; but in the art of healing, or curing diseases, they were no adepts. Even so early as the time of Richard I. there was a distinction between the physicians and surgeons: and some there were then who studied the *materia medica*, and compounded and sold medicines, but did not take upon them to prescribe.

From the monuments of the time it appears, that even in the time of Henry II, and Richard I.
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* The knowledge and use of the Arabian digits were introduced into Britain by Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln, to which he was consecrated A. D. 1235—and died October 4, 1253. This great man, by the mere force of intellect, had the happiness to purify his learning from the vain pomposity and sophistry of the age in which he lived; and to direct all his researches to some useful purpose. His piety was undebased by superstition, his probity built on conscious virtue, and his courage so great that the proofs he gave of it would appear fiction, if they were not supported by historical evidence, which cannot be called in question. Alone, and unsupported by any earthly power, he repelled the encroachments of pope Innocent IV. one of the most imperious pontiffs that ever filled saint Peter's chair; and at last triumphed over that power which trampled on the thrones of prostrate kings.

See Henry's Hist. of Gr. Brit. Vol. VIII. p. 10.

the study of experimental philosophy, chemistry, botany, and anatomy, was very little cultivated, if at all.

The many monasteries which were built in England, after the Conquest, (in which the most learned men of the age presided) tended to diffuse learning. The same effect flowed from the improvement then made in the manufacture of writing-paper. Before the Conquest, and for sometime after, it was made of cotton—but sometime about the middle of the second Henry's reign, it was made of linen-rags, as it is now; though not in the same perfection.—The croisades also contributed to increase the knowledge of the sciences in Europe. But it is to be observed that the learning of the times was confined to the clergy: the laity remained illiterate for many ages. The great men spent all their time in war, in rural employments, or in domestic bickerings: and the great body of the people were depressed to a very great degree, they were wholly occupied in constant servitude and hard labour, and had no time, and hardly a wish to acquire any literary knowledge.

The places or schools, where the sciences were taught, were the two universities of Oxford and
Cambridge.

Cambridge. In the second place, cathedral-churches; which were not only superintended by the bishop, but taught by him in person; who, in general, devoted almost all his time and study to the education of youth, not children, but young men. Thirdly, conventual-schools; where the candidates for the monastic life were taught Latin, and church-music. Nicholas Breakspear, (afterwards pope Adrian IV.) was rejected by Richard, abbot of saint Albans, for want of a competent knowledge in the Latin *gramere*, &c. Besides these, in almost all the principal towns in England, there were schools founded for the education of youth. In many parts of England, in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the Jews had seminaries of learning, for teaching the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Arabic tongues, and arithmetic. The little knowledge in this last which the English had, they derived principally from them: several of their rabbies, in those days, distinguished themselves in the literary world.

The necessary and ornamental arts, also, received a proportional degree of improvement from the coming of the Normans. In this list we may place agriculture among the first, which received considerable

considerable advancement, principally from the example and instruction of the clergy. The instruments of their husbandry, in the reign of Richard I. were nearly the same as those now in use, so was the manner of manuring and cultivating their land; but in a less perfect way. Gardening also, received great improvement from the same source. The Normans coming from a wine-country, endeavoured to introduce the same accommodation in England; and, however incredible it may appear; they succeeded to a very great degree. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries there were many vineyards in England, which produced a wine, very little inferior to body or flavour to the wines in France. A confirmation of this may be found in the Saxon Chronicle, page 240, &c. Madox's history of the Exchequer, page 289, and in William of Malmsbury, in various places. He celebrates the vale of Gloucester (near which he spent his life) for its great fertility, &c. "This vale (he says) is planted thicker with vineyards than any other province in England; and they produce grapes in the greatest abundance, and of the sweetest taste. The wine made in these vineyards is very little inferior, in any respect, to

“the wines of France.” I am not ignorant that the history of the times shews that there were many famines in England in those days; but those famines proceeded from, and were the consequence of the devastations of war, in a greater degree than from a defective agriculture.

The architecture of the English, before the Conquest, even the best of it, was very mean and heavy. The twelfth century may justly be called the age of architecture in the western-parts of Europe. About the time that the present cathedral (of Chichester) was erected, the mode of building received a very great change for the better: the style before (which was the real Gothic) was plain, low, dark, and strong, the walls exceedingly thick, the doors and windows low and small, the arches semi-circular, and without any ornaments. This was succeeded by what was called the *Latter Gothic*; which did not make its appearance in Britain before the year 1164, distinguished from the former by having the walls higher, and not so exceedingly thick, supported by buttresses on the outside, the doors and windows loftier and wider—the arches pointed, as were also the arches of the roof; the fabric covered with lead,

with

with pinnacles at each end ; a tower over the middle of the cross, and finished with lofty pyramidal spires of stone. These structures remain to this day ; the ornament and admiration of the present age. The stones wherewith these magnificent edifices were built, were brought from quarries near Caen, in Normandy. Who was the architect of the cathedral of Chichester, I cannot determine with precision. William of Sens, who built the archiepiscopal church of Canterbury, between the years 1070 and 1091, was a very famous architect, both in wood and stone ; and “ invented many useful machines ;” but from the date of the building of the cathedral of Canterbury, and the style of it, it does not appear probable that he planned, or had the superintending of that of Chichester. Walter of Coventry was an eminent architect, and built many magnificent fabrics both sacred and civil, in the reigns of Henry II. Richard and John. Matthew of Paris says of him “ so excellent an architect had never yet appeared, and “ probably never would again appear in the world.” There were, no doubt, other men in England who were eminent in that way. It is probable, but not certain, that Walter was the artist who directed in

the construction of the very elegant and noble structure, the church of Chichester.

The clothing arts, both in woollen and linen, received very great improvements during the time of the Norman kings. William brought many Flemings into England; who were then, and for several succeeding centuries, the principal manufacturers of cloth in Europe. At the same time the arts of sculpture and painting, especially portrait-painting, received considerable improvement: that of painting on glass is supposed to have been brought into England in the reign of John.

It is maintained by several writers that the Norman Conquest was favourable to the trade of England: I shall not obtrude my opinion on a subject in which I am incompetent to judge. That the trade of England, after the revolutionary tumult had subsided, did increase is certain: but whether in consequence of the coming of the Normans, may be questioned. William obtained the crown by the sword; and by the same means the Norman barons and great men, acquired their vast estates here: for which reason, after that period for many ages, arms constituted the most honourable and lucrative

crative profession : and they who, in spite of that discouragement, engaged in trade, were exposed to many inconveniencies, many hardships. Besides, it is obvious, that the spirit of feudalism is inimical to commerce : it breathes nothing but despotism on the one hand, and slavish submission on the other. Some degree of political freedom is necessary for the nourishment of trade. Monopolizers and contractors may live and prosper under a despotism ; as birds and beasts of prey do in time of war and pestilence ; but freedom is necessary to a general commerce, which shall pervade and invigorate the whole body of the community !

With the Normans, there came very great numbers of Jews into this country, and brought much money with them ; which, no doubt, did contribute to increase the commerce of the nation. The chief seats of trade were London and Bristol, and their dependencies, viz. Ross in Pembrokeshire, where a colony of Flemings were settled, the Cinque-Ports, (Dover, Hastings, Hythe, Romney and Sandwich, to which (afterwards) were added Rye and Winchelsea) Chichester, Norwich, Yarmouth, Lincoln, York, &c. the articles nearly the same as those already mentioned,

tioned, both of exports and imports. Almost all the foreign trade, was in the hands of foreigners. Fitz-Stephen, who lived in the time of Henry II: in his account of London, says, “ Every nation under heaven have factors here residing, for the management of their commerce.” To which we may add that they had deputy factors in all the principal towns of England.

The denominations of money were changed after the Conquest, in some measure. The pound continued the same, consisting of 5400 grains troy; the shilling different, being the twentieth part of a pound, or 270 grains—it is very uncertain whether the shilling was a real coin, or only a denomination of money. The penny was the most common real coin for many years after the Conquest, being the twelfth part of a shilling, or $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains: and would purchase, in the time of the Norman kings, and afterwards, as much goods or provisions, as four or five shillings would in 1792. Money was for many ages coined both in Chichester and several towns in England. In all of them the coiners received their dyes from the exchequer, and were each under the direction of the barons of that office, and answerable to them,

them, both for the weight, and quality, or fineness. I do not find that any gold was coined in England after the Conquest, before the year 1344, the seventeenth of the third Edward. That the balance of trade was in favour of England at these times, might be proved by the same arguments as were adduced to evince it in the time of the Anglo-Saxons.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHANGE IN THE MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE.—OF CHIVALRY—
 SURNAMES—FIRST THEATRICAL ENTERTAINMENTS IN ENG-
 LAND.—DAWN OF LEARNING.—OF ROGER BACON—
 ROBERT GROSTED—JOHN WICKLIFFE.—MERCHANTS OF
 THE STAPLE.—PECKHAM, ARCH-BISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

A VERY considerable change took place in the manners and customs of the people, by their subjection to, and afterwards intermixture with their Norman conquerors. This people came originally from Scandinavia, under the famous Norwegian chief Rollo, who, in the beginning of the tenth century, invaded Neustria in France, and were permitted to occupy that province, on condition of their becoming Christians, and protecting the coast of Brittany, &c. from all future adventurers. They were called Northmans or Normans, as coming from the North. Here they settled, and in the course of a few years, from various causes, became a more civilized people than

than they had been. As they inter-married with the people of France, they endeavoured to conceal the disgrace of their origin by assuming the name and manners of the French to a certain degree. After their settling in England, the strongest trait of their character was a deep, implacable hatred and sovereign contempt of the English, which pervaded all degrees of them, from the king on the throne, to the meanest wretch on a dunghill; which adhered to them through many succeeding generations. Their hatred and contempt of the natives of this country, could be equalled by nothing but the many cruel indignities which they made them suffer. One of the most polished of the Normans, (Eadmerus) in describing the battle of Hastings, in which he was engaged, says, “ the cries of the Normans on one side, and of “ the barbarians (that is the English) on the other, “ was drowned by the clashing of arms and the “ groans of the dying.” For many years the greatest reproach that could be cast on any one, was to call him an Englishman. Even so late as the reign of Edward I. more than two hundred years after the Conquest, if a Norman, or foreigner, resident in England, was accused of any thing dishonourable
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and base, in denying it, he would say—"What! do you imagine me to be an Englishman?"

Another change in the manners of the inhabitants of this kingdom was introduced, by that strange spirit of chivalry, which the Normans imported into this island. Whether the effects of that institution were salutary or otherwise, in a commercial state, is not necessary to enquire. They were likewise the first that introduced surnames among the English. At first these were confined to persons of rank and family; who generally assumed them from the castles or estates they possessed. The common people did not (dared not) adopt that mode of distinction for many years: and then not regularly—some did, and some did not. Among these the surname, at first, was an epithet or nickname, as John *White*, James *Short*, William *Hardy*, &c. and these names, or epithets, did not descend to their children, if they did not possess these properties. This mode prevailed more or less, full three centuries; i. e. till the reign of Henry IV.

In the articles of wearing-apparel, &c. many improvements were made by the Normans, which could not be generally adopted by the English, who
were

were treated with the greatest severity by them, for almost two hundred years. It was an offence for the *slaves* to wear the same kind of attire, or to dress after the same fashion as the *freemen* did. In one respect this regulation was not observed. The Normans shaved their beards, which the English did not: and had a simple, but certainly harmless, attachment to that part of them which grew on the upper-lips. To mortify them in this, as in every other way, the Conqueror ordained, under a very severe penalty, that all his subjects should shave their beards; and the regulation was enforced with the keenest rigour. Odoricus Vitalis says, that “many of the English chose rather to abandon their country than part with their whiskers.”

We are informed, by the author of *Anglia-Sacra*, Eadmerus, and John of Salisbury, that the Normans first introduced into this country, a crime too detestable even to be named—“*fædissimum Sodomæ scelus*.”

At this period jousts and tournaments also first made their appearance in England; as did, in the twelfth century, theatrical entertainments, both ecclesiastical and secular: the first consisted of legendary tales

tales of the holy martyrs, &c. and the second performed by companies of strollers of the worst characters, and their representations of the most indelicate and obscene nature.*

About the beginning of the thirteenth century, a discerning eye might discover a faint dawn of light, or rather the symptoms of a dawn, from that long night of profound darkness which enveloped Europe, after the fall of the western Roman empire. Perhaps the means which the Roman pontiff (the patron of darkness and error) adopted to perpetuate the shades of night, might, by the over-ruling influence of a kind Providence, tend to dispel them, and deliver the unhappy sons of men from the mental and corporeal degradation, into which the nefarious system of that anti-christian religion had plunged them.—In every convent in the kingdom, there was an office called the scriptorium, in which a number of monks, educated for that purpose, were employed to transcribe, in fair, legible characters, the works of the learned. Some monasteries contained more than a thousand volumes; most of them written in a very fair hand. These were for the use of the students in

* See John of Salis.

in the various branches of learning, which were then taught. By these means, knowledge came to be more diffused; and though it was confined principally to religious seminaries, yet the number of these was so great, in the time now considered, that it may be affirmed with truth, that learning was more cultivated, and knowledge more diffused, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, than they had been for many ages.

In the thirteenth century lived Robert Grostest. (or Grouthead) the good bishop of Lincoln, who with undaunted courage exposed the superstition, errors, and tyranny of the papal system; and being a voluminous writer himself, paved the way for that eminent reformer John Wickliffe, a name which will ever be revered.—Prior to both of these, Roger Bacon,* that great luminary in science, astonished Britain, and all Europe, with a display of learning and

* This extraordinary man, Roger Bacon, was born A. D. 1214, and at the age of twenty-six entered into the order of Franciscan monks at Oxford, "that he might prosecute his studies in tranquillity." The monks of his own order and the Dominicans, were his most inveterate and implacable enemies. He died at Oxford, at the age of seventy-eight years, more than one fourth part of which was passed in confinement in gaol, by the malice of his enemies.

and knowledge, too dazzling for eyes, which had been habituated to a dim twilight, to look up to. So far did he eclipse all that had ever gone before him, that he was suspected, even by the learned, to have derived his knowledge from infernal spirits. If we consider that this great man had no teacher, (the world could furnish none for him) and no assistant, but on the contrary, mankind associated to thwart and impede him, we may be allowed to affirm that the powers of his mind were inferior to none of any nation or age. Philosophy he first rescued from the quibbles of logic, to its proper basis of laborious patient experiment. It is true, his studies did not directly tend to religion, nor were his discoveries made in that province; but it is equally true that the exposure of error in any path, and the extension of truth of every denomination, has a tendency to illuminate every subject, of every description. It is no disparagement to the memory of that eminent reformer John Wickliff, to say that the world is indebted to the previous discoveries of Roger Bacon, and the undaunted exertions of Robert Grøsted, the pious bishop of Lincoln, that ever he had an existence as such. The latter of these showed mankind

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the horrid features of the Romish imposture; and the former furnished the weapons wherewith the monster might be assailed with success. No greater praise can be ascribed to man than saying, with these the immortal Wickliff, single and alone, entered the lists against all the powers of darkness: and though he could not lay the foe prostrate at his feet, he inflicted wounds on him which never were healed. The fabulous Hydra of Lerna was feigned to have had fifty heads; the real monster of Rome had many thousands!*

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• John Wickliff, a native of the county of York, and professor of divinity in Oxford, was born A. D. 1324—and died in the year 1384. A cotemporary historian, and his inveterate enemy (Knyghton) says, that “more than one half of the people of England became his followers, and embraced his doctrine.” After his death the pope, and all the Romish clergy throughout Europe, endeavoured with all their power to eradicate the impression which his preaching and writings had made on the minds of men, but it was a vain attempt; truth is congenial to the mind of man; and no endeavours can long maintain the reign of delusion and tyranny, in the midst of light and knowledge. His bones were dug up and burned, his books condemned and anathematized, his character blackened, his doctrines denounced, and the abettors of them persecuted with the utmost fury. But all these attempts to stifle the truth were ineffectual. His disciples (called Lollards in England, and Albigenses abroad) instead of diminishing, increased; and in the issue overturned the system of spiritual imposture and papal tyranny.

About the middle of the reign of Edward III. the company of merchants called the merchants of the Staple, was formed in England; and the laws and regulations of the society settled by act of parliament. (Vide Stat. 27, K. Edward III.) The company was invested with great privileges: they were exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary magistrates, and placed under the authority of a mayor and constables of the Staple, chosen annually, in each staple-town: in which there were also six mediators, (two Germans, two Lombards, and two Englishmen) who were to determine all disputes brought before them, in the presence of the mayor and constables of the Staple. There were other immunities which they enjoyed. They were in fact, not only a distinct but (in all matters relating to traffic) an independent commonwealth. The other towns, besides Chichester, of the Staple, were London, York, Canterbury, Winchester, Bristol and Exeter. The purposes intended to be answered by this establishment were, first, to collect together all that could be spared of the chief commodities produced in the kingdom, wool, wool-felts, lead and tin, and to deposit them in these constituted depositories; that
foreign

foreign merchants might know where to find them: and in the second place to export these staple-goods to foreign countries, and import from thence either bullion, or the produce of those countries which was wanted in England.

About the middle, and towards the end of the thirteenth century, lived John Peckham, arch-bishop of Canterbury; a native of this county, and founder of the families of that name, both in Sussex and Kent; several of which live in affluence and respectability to this day. According to the account of this extraordinary man in the history of Lewes, he was born about the year 1230, of very indigent parents; who were not able to give him any education. This defect was supplied by the partiality of the monks of Lewes, who not only gave him a subsistence, but bestowed on him a liberal education: and afterwards sent him to Oxford to compleat it. Here he entered into the order of St. Francis. From thence he went to Paris: where he distinguished himself so much by his learning and exemplary life, that he was appointed canon in the cathedral of Lyons. In this place he set himself to acquire the

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knowledge

knowledge of the civil and canon-law. From Lyons he went to Rome; where, on account of his talents and learning, he was soon promoted to the tribunal of one of the papal courts; and was held in so great estimation with the Roman pontiff, that he set aside the election of Robert Burnel, bishop of Bath and Wells, to the primacy of Canterbury, in order to elevate Peckham to that dignity; which elevation took place A. D. 1278.—Deeply tinctured with the intolerance and cruel prejudices of the times, in 1282 he caused all the synagogues in the diocese of London to be demolished: and about the same time undertook a journey into Wales, in order, by his spiritual authority, to repress a rebellion (as it was called) of the Welch, who under the banners of their brave prince Llewellyn, endeavoured to re-assert the independence of their oppressed country.—He had a manor and mansion in his native county, at Slindon, and a house at Terrible-down, in the parish of Framfield, the ruins of which are still remaining.* Many of his relations he raised from indigence to opulence;

* See Hist. of Lewes, p. 172—178.

opulence ; by what means it is not said : not by his interest at court, it is probable, for he was no favourite with the king, (Edward I.) At his death, A. D. 1294, he is said to have left behind him more than five thousand pounds : a great sum, equal nearly to an hundred thousand pounds of the present day.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE STATE OF CHICHESTER BEFORE THE REIGN OF HENRY VII
—THE KING A FRIEND TO COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION—
SHILLINGS COINED IN HIS REIGN.—THE NUMBER OF THE
PEERS FEW IN ENGLAND—AND THE REASON—OF THE
RETAINERS OF THE NOBILITY—THEIR DEPRESSION—
GRADUAL EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY—REFORMATION OF
RELIGION—PERSECUTION OF THE LOLLARDS—BISHOPS OF
CHICHESTER AT THE REFORMATION—OF THE RELIGIOUS
HOUSES IN ENGLAND—VALUATION OF THEM—AND
DISSOLUTION.

IF we form an estimate of the population, commerce, and prosperity of the city of Chichester, from the state of the kingdom in general, in all those respects, before the accession of Henry VII. to the crown, we must conclude that they were in no flourishing condition. The cruel civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, had long harrassed the country, greatly diminished the number of the people, thrown every thing into confusion, and prevented them

them from employing to their advantage, the resources which they enjoyed. The accession of Henry removed these obstructions, and, in time, gave room to the genius and industry of the inhabitants to exert themselves. The king himself was a prince of a comprehensive understanding; who, knowing that the prosperity of the people, and therefore the lustre of the crown, depended much on foreign trade, set himself, as soon as he was fixed on the throne, to promote and encourage it. With this view he formed commercial treaties with almost every nation in Europe; in particular with France, and the different states of Italy. Before this time almost all the foreign trade of England had been carried on by foreigners, and in foreign ships, or bottoms. Knowing that this practice tended to prevent the increase of English ships, and English sailors, Henry procured laws to be made, ordaining that (almost) all goods brought from beyond seas should be imported into England in ships belonging to the king, or some of his subjects. No prince in Europe at that time, understood the nature of commerce better than he, or was more disposed to encourage and patronise it: I know it is generally believed that it was through his diffidence

and avarice that England lost the honour of making the first discovery of the new world : but this is a mistake, and a mistake very injurious to his memory.

In the year 1485, Christopher Columbus sent his brother Bartholomew to the court of England to solicit the patronage and assistance of Henry in his meditated discoveries. In his voyage hither, Bartholomew was taken by pirates, who stripped him of every thing, and detained him nearly four years. In 1489, he arrived in England, almost naked, without credentials, without money, and without friends : and it was a considerable time before he could procure an audience with the king ; which when he obtained, Henry listened to his narrative and proposals with fixt attention ; and after mature deliberation, agreed to grant Columbus the assistance he required, on the proffered conditions ; and sent Bartholomew back to his brother, with an invitation from him to come into England. But Columbus had sailed on his second voyage before Bartholomew arrived in Spain.* In the year 1497, the islands of Newfoundland and saint John were discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, (the father of Sebastian Cabot)

* See Churchill's Voyage, Vol. II. p. 557—558.

Cabot) who was fitted out by Henry for making discoveries, in conjunction with some merchants of Bristol, Plymouth and Chichester.

In this king's reign, A. D. 1504, shillings were first coined in England, weighing 144 grains.* They are said to have been a beautiful coin: but are now to be found only in the cabinets of the curious. The hire of a day labourer at this time, was only three pence: which would purchase as much of the necessities of life as three or four shillings at the present time. Henry at his death left in his treasury, or private property, the sum of five millions three hundred thousand pounds, as is attested by lord chief-justice Coke, besides plate and Jewels. A prodigious sum for that time!—As Henry VII. may be said to have been the founder of the foreign trade of England; so his son, Henry VIII. was of its navy. At whose demise it consisted of fifty-three ships of war; and several of them of great magnitude. One (the *Henry*) was of a thousand tons burden.

By the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, the number of the nobility was so much reduced, that when Henry of Richmond forced his way

* The $37\frac{1}{2}$ part of the money pound.

way to the throne, only twenty-eight temporal peers were summoned to his first parliament : * and in his and the succeeding reign, very few were raised to the peerage : the policy of both the Henries, and of Elizabeth, disposing them to favour and promote the power and importance of corporations, in order to counterpoise the influence of the nobility in the state ; and shelter the crown from danger in that quarter, the only quarter where danger was apprehended. Letters and charters of incorporation were granted to several places : and not a few boroughs, which had not before enjoyed that privilege, were summoned to send representatives to the commons house of parliament, and every method adopted that the policy of the court could devise to depress the power of the aristocracy : a power on which, in less than two centuries, the crown in vain wished to lean for support and defence, from the danger in which the system of despotism, which these autocrats had established in the kingdom, and transmitted to their successors, had involved it. So limited is the foresight of the deepest human sagacity ! In the mean time, the system adopted by the kings of

* See Dugdale's Summons to Parliament.

of England, for several centuries, of depressing the nobility, was favourable in its consequences to the cities and towns in general; and to Chichester not less than to others. Laws had been made, and were now rigourously executed, against the great keeping a number of retainers, which hitherto they had been accustomed to do; who depended solely upon them, and under the shelter of their name and protection, were guilty of the greatest enormities and sanguinary atrocities.—The suppression of this formidable description of men, (little better than freebooters) was of eminent advantage to the country. Delivered from the dread and depredations of these, the husbandman pursued his peaceful labours, the swain reared and fed his cattle, the mechanic was secured from alarm, and the tradesman and dealer from ruin and assassination.—Though no law was ever made in England, I believe, for the abolition of slavery here; yet as religion and humanity gained ground, and prevailed among men, in the same proportion slavery declined, Wickliff, and his followers, inveighed against the practice of it with equal warmth and success. It soon became a prevailing opinion among the people, “ that slavery was inconsistent with
“ Christianity,

“Christianity, offensive to God, and injurious to
“men.”*

Every reader knows by what means the reformation of religion in England was effected: that it began in a separation from the church of Rome, on a political and not a religious account. This separation took place A. D. 1534, and was effected by those who were zealously attached to the Romish religion, and the greatest enemies to reformation. During the whole reign of Henry VIII. the persecution of Lollards, and burning of heretics, (as they were called) continued with unabating cruelty; for Henry was a bigotted papist, and inflexibly attached to the Romish superstition to the last hour of his life; dissenting from it in no one article, except the claim of the Roman pontiff to the supremacy over the church of England; which supremacy he thought belonged to himself as king of England.

About

* Henry VIII. a man of great pomp and ostentation, gave a release or manumission to two of his slaves, A. D. 1514, for which he assigned this reason in the preamble—“That God had
“at first created all men equally free by nature, but many had
“been reduced to slavery by the laws of men. We believe it
“therefore to be a pious act, and meritorious in the sight of God,
“to set CERTAIN of our slaves at liberty from their bondage.”

See Rym. tom. 13, p. 470.

About this time Robert Shurborne (or Sherborn) resigned the see of Chichester ; but whether he did so in consequence of his great age, (ninety-four) or of the new oath of supremacy, I cannot determine. To the declaration, published A. D. 1534, " that the bishop of Rome had no more authority in " England, by the word of God, than any other " foreign bishop," all the English prelates and clergy were ordered to subscribe, and to take an oath to adhere to the same opinion. With great reluctance the clergy complied with this regulation : and it is most probable that bishop Shurborne resigned on that account. He died two years after, A. D. 1536, aged ninety-six, and was buried in his own cathedral. He was succeeded in the see by Richard Sampson, L. L. D. in the year 1536 : who was translated in 1542 to that of Litchfield and Coventry. In 1543 George Day, S. T. P. was elected ; a man of moderate principles. In the year following he joined arch-bishop Cranmer and Nicholas Heath, bishop of Worcester, in presenting a petition to the king, to permit the prayers of the church to be offered in their native tongue ; to abolish some superstitious ceremonies, such as watching and ringing at night on the vigil
of

of Allhallows, the covering with veils the images in churches and the cross in time of Lent, the kneeling or creeping to the cross on Palm-sunday or any other time, and some other superstitious ceremonies. The injunction from the king to abolish these, was obtained by the above-mentioned prelates; and the execution of the mandate committed to the archbishop. The bishop of Chichester was favourable to the reformation of religion to a certain degree; a friend to toleration; but firmly attached to the see of Rome; from whose communion he would not separate. With the new doctrines (as they were called) he complied in some particulars; but in others, adhered stedfastly, and no doubt conscientiously, to the old: for which reason, in the reign of Edward VI. in the year 1551, on the fall of the duke of Somerset from the protectorship, and the rise of the earl of Warwick, (duke of Northumberland) he was deprived, together with Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Heath of Worcester, and Voysey, alias Harmen of Exeter. On the accession of Mary, they were all restored in 1553. In 1556, the bishop of Chichester died; and was succeeded the year following by John Christopherson, in the fourth or fifth year

year of Philip and Mary, who was deprived in the first year of queen Elizabeth's reign, and died soon after, and was buried in Christ's church in London; according to Le Neve, from whose *Fasti* I have extracted these particulars.—William Barlow, bishop of Bath and Wells, was translated to this see, in December, 1559, where he sat eight or nine years; and dying in 1568, was buried in the cathedral. This prelate may with propriety be called the first protestant bishop who filled the episcopal see of Chichester, who renounced all the errors and superstitions of the Romish church.

In a parliament holden at Westminster, A. D. 1539, the king (Henry VIII.) obtained possession of all the lands, rents, buildings, jewels, furniture, money, goods, &c. which belonged to six hundred and forty-five monasteries, ninety colleges of priests, an hundred and ten hospitals, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels. The yearly rents of the land of all these, according to their inventories (Stat. 31, Hen. VIII.) amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand, and one hundred pounds; but was not the half, probably not the third, of their yearly value: for the owners were
accustomed

accustomed to let them at very low rents ; and to levy heavy payments on the renewal of the leases. The value of the monies, jewels, &c. belonging to these religious houses was immense: sufficient, if the king's policy had been equal to his rapacity, to have rendered the crown independent on the country.— Besides these already mentioned, there still remained in the kingdom, a number of colleges, chapels, hospitals, and other fraternities of secular priests, endowed with lands, rents, stipends, &c. for saying a number of masses for the souls of their founders and families.—All these were dissolved by parliament A. D. 1545, and given to the king, with all the property, of every denomination, belonging to them.

CHAPTER XIX.

RITUAL OF THE CHURCH.—OF JOHN WICKLIFF—ERASMUS.—
 INTRODUCTION OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE.—BURNING OF
 REPUTED HERETICKS IN SUSSEX.—OF THE FIRST COMPANY
 OF ENGLISH MERCHANTS.—AGRICULTURE AT THIS PERIOD
 —AND ARCHITECTURE.—FIRST PAVING OF THE STREETS
 OF CHICHESTER.—ACT FOR BRINGING THE HAVEN TO THE
 CITY.—EXTRACT FROM MR. CLARKE'S MS.—ORIGIN AND
 RISE OF THE PURITANS IN ENGLAND.

WE read the history of the parliaments of this reign, with equal astonishment and abhorrence.—Henry ruled with a rod of iron: he did not bribe the representatives of his subjects to prostitute their characters, and betray their constituents, and the country; but drove them by the terror of his name.*

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* The government of both the Henries (seventh and eighth) particularly the last, was exceedingly sanguinary. Holingshed (p. 186.) informs us, that not less than seventy thousand persons were put to death as criminals. This account may be exaggerated; but the number was very great. Naturally savage, and meeting

no

The philanthropist will heave a sigh for the sufferings of the people, while history shows that their constitutional guardians have deserted their defence at the frown of a tyrant, at one period; and at other times, no less unpropitious, sacrificed their interests to considerations equally dishonourable!

In the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. the ritual of the church of England was established: the same, with very little variation, as has been used ever since: and in the fifth or sixth year of the same reign, an act of parliament was passed for the uniformity of the public prayers of the church; which act was ratified by the same authority in the first year of the reign of queen Elizabeth.

I have not found that the Reformation produced any effects in Chichester, or in the county,
but

no restraint, he trampled on the lives of the people, and the laws of the land. His parliament absolved him from paying his debts, for which he had given security under the great seal; and even obliged those who had been paid to refund the money they had received. Unhappily the nation was divided into two parties: those who were for the pope, and those who favoured the reformation. Each vied with the other who should flatter him most, and gratify his exorbitant will; for fear of his joining the opposite party. This was the reason of the tameness of the parliament and of the people.

but such as were common to the nation in general. I observed before that it originated from a political, and not from a religious cause. The separation from the tyranny of the see of Rome, is attributable to Henry VIII. but the reformation in religion to John Wickliff and his followers. In the year 1497, the great Erasmus of Rotterdam,* came into England, and went to Oxford, with a design to introduce and teach the Greek language there; but finding no encouragement, returned to the continent. In the succeeding reign, he was induced to return to England by lord Mountjoy, who introduced him to the notice and patronage of cardinal Wolsey: and in a few years after, both Henry and the cardinal joined their names to the patronisers of the Greek language. About this time lived sir Thomas Moore, William Grocyn, doctor Linacre, George Buchanan, William Lilly, and dean Collet.† They were nearly

v 2 cotemporaries,

* Of Erasmus it was said by the Romanists, that he laid the egg of heresy, and Luther hatched it.

† William Grocyn was a native of Bristol; one of the first restorers of learning in Britain, particularly Greek, which he studied in Italy, under Demetrius Chalcondylas, one of those learned men who fled from Constantinople when it was taken by the Turks, A. D. 1453.—William Lilly, nat. 1466, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which he accomplished. Resided five years

cotemporaries, and heartily co-operated in the great work they each had in view, the revival and promotion of learning. Not more illustrious for their erudition, than for the purity of their morals, they were no doubt raised up by Providence to pave the way for the Reformation. As real learning prevailed, that of the school-men declined, and at last sunk into deserved contempt. When cardinal Wolsey visited Oxford in 1518, he founded no less than seven lectures there, viz. for theology, civil-law, philosophy, physic, mathematics, Greek, and rhetoric.

If Hollingshed's account be true, that seventy thousand persons in England were executed in the reign of that monster Henry VIII. it is probable that many of that number were of this county, and several of the city of Chichester; but I have not found the names of any of them on record, except two, who are mentioned by bishop Burnet, Featherson and Pqwell; who, in 1540, were condemned without being

years at Rhodes. On his return to England was appointed, by dean Collet, first master of saint Paul's school. He composed a grammar for the use of the school, in which he was assisted by Erasmus, doctor Collet, and Thomas Robinson, three of the best linguists in Europe. The preface was written by cardinal Wolsey. He died of the plague, A. D. 1523.

being heard, and executed at the same time, for denying the king's supremacy; a charge for which many suffered in that reign. Of those, who then suffered for religion in these parts, and were burned at the stake, as reputed heretics, I shall give the most accurate account I can find in another place. That many are deficient there can be no doubt: registered in heaven, their names are perished from the records of men.* Queen Mary reigned five years and four months. Bishop Grindal states, that the number burned in her reign for heresy, was eight hundred. Of whom Burnet mentions fourteen men (one of them a clergymen) and three women, who were burned at one time in Chichester: and on his authority (which is respectable) I must leave it.—All these were condemned by bishop Bonner; and John Christopherson, bishop of Chichester; a descendant of the former of whom, about fifteen or sixteen years ago, lived in Chichester, a coach-maker; but did not continue there many years.

The most antient company of English merchants, of which there is any trace in history, was incorpo-

u 3 rated

* Not having Fox's Martyrology, I cannot say whether there be any such recorded there.

rated by charter, by Henry IV. in the sixth or seventh year of his reign, A. D. 1406. They were called the brotherhood of saint Thomas Becket. Their charter was granted to them for the express purpose of exporting the English woollen cloth, which then began to be manufactured in considerable quantity in England: and as that flourished the trade of the brotherhood increased with it. As this society was, by the conditions of the charter, composed of native subjects of England and Ireland, it was favoured both by the government and the people, made gradual incroachments on the trade of the merchants of the Staple; and at length, in the time of Henry VIII. ruined the company, and brought it to a final dissolution.*

The state of agriculture at this time, may be ascertained with sufficient precision from the average produce of an acre of wheat. Holingshed estimates that to be (in the vale of Gloucester) from sixteen to twenty bushels an acre, of one hundred and sixty rods. A very scanty produce! At present, from the best information I can collect, the produce of a seed acre in Sussex, (one hundred and seven rods) is
from

* Anderson, Vol. I. p. 233, &c.

from twenty-five to twenty-seven bushels, equal to thirty-seven to forty bushels per acre, of one hundred and sixty rods.—It is observable that, by the antient English writers on this subject, the dearths, which were so frequent in former times, are ascribed to bad seasons: and with some reason; for in a languid state of husbandry, every great change of weather must greatly affect the crop, and produce a deficiency. But this was not the sole cause: war ever did, and always will raise the price of grain, and provisions of every denomination.

The architecture of the time began to degenerate, even in Henry the seventh's time. There is a certain degree of perfection in art, beyond which human genius cannot reach—and at which it is therefore to be lamented man does not stop: the simplicity of Saxon architecture, the real Gothic, was supplanted by the ornamental Gothic; in which, in its progress, the magnificence of the art is lost, and, as it were, buried under a profusion of decoration. A style censurable as too ornamental, and departing from the sublime grandeur of the true Gothic, without attaining, what it seems to aim at, a greater degree of elegance. In viewing the superb chapel of

Henry VII. in Westminster, (the cost of which was then fourteen thousand pounds) the eye is bewildered amidst a profusion of decorations ; and the real artist finds himself disgusted with a specimen of Gothic architecture in its latest, and perhaps most degenerate state. In the same style was Christ's church-college in Oxford—built by Henry VIII.—and so was likewise Cowdry-house at Midhurst, the mansion of the late lord viscount Montacute, erected about the same time, and unhappily consumed by accidental fire, the 25th of September, 1793.* The palace of Hampton-court, built by cardinal Wolsey, and presented by him to the king, in some measure comes under the same description, but not to the same degree. The palace of saint James was originally a nunnery, and converted by the same (Henry) into a mansion for his own use. At this time the houses, or rather the huts of the peasantry, mechanics, &c. had received hardly any improvement for many generations ;

* It is remarkable that on the last day of October in the same year, the melancholy accounts from Swisserland were received in England, that, a few weeks before, lord viscount Montacute and Mr. Burdett were unfortunately drowned at one of the falls of the Rhine.

nerations; and continued mean and sordid. The dwelling-houses of gentlemen were not in much more commendable condition: both the one and the other were fabricated of wood, and covered for the most part with divet or turf. The mansions of the great and opulent were built on a more extensive scale indeed, but the degree of elegance, or rather inelegance, nearly the same: for windows they had wooden chequered lattices,* the ground floors of clay, the higher floors of oak, and all covered with straw or rushes, which remained unremoved, often for many years, a foul receptacle of the refuse of the table, and all manner of nastiness: to which cause, Erasmus very justly attributes the frequent and destructive plagues in England. In cities and towns, the houses were built of the same materials, and thatched, projecting as they rose in height, and thereby intercepting the light and air from the street beneath; so that in narrow streets or lanes, the upper parts of the opposite houses nearly met. In

Chichester

* In the houses of the principal nobility and great men, in the reign of Henry VIII. many of them had glass windows, and many had not—but all such as were built at that time and afterwards, were furnished with that elegant accommodation.

Chichester the streets were not paved till the eighteenth year of queen Elizabeth's reign, when a statute was obtained by the corporation for that purpose. The preamble sets forth, that "the streets of the same citie have become very mierie, and full of watrie and durtie places, both lothsome and noysome," &c. and enacts that every landlord, terretenant, &c. *in the four principal streets*, shall, at the assignment of the mayor, pave, or cause to be paved, that part of the street which is opposite to his house, land, &c. as far as the channel of the street: and in default or failure of so doing, to pay three shillings and four pence for every square yard unpaved; and the half of that sum for omitting, or neglecting to keep the same in due repair; to be paid to the mayor and citizens, towards the maintenance of, and repairing the walls of the city.

In the twenty-seventh year of the same reign, an act of parliament was passed for bringing the haven of the city, by a new cut channel, to the suburbs thereof,* and confirming the right and property, which

* The preamble says—"Whereas the citie of Chichester, in the countie of Sussex, is a verie antient citie, holden by the mayor and citizens thereof, in fee-farm of the queen's majestie," &c.

which the mayor and citizens have in the said haven, water-course and stream thereof. The cut is appointed to be made between Dell-quay and Fishbourne. The mayor and citizens are directed to compound with the lords, owners, and occupiers of the ground: and if these shall refuse to accept of the compensation offered, then it shall be lawful for the lord chancellor of England at the suit and petition of the mayor and citizens to appoint twelve commissioners to fix and determine the yearly rent or other compensation which they (the mayor and citizens) shall pay to the said owners, &c. And it is provided and ordained that no part of the act shall extend or give any power to them (the mayor, &c.) to take any of the lands, tenements, &c. of the right honourable Charles lord Howard, baron of Effingham, of or in the manor of Appledram, without his special assent and agreement first had and obtained.*

About the year 1620, king James I. issued a commission for making a considerable number of knights; and at the same time renewed the charters of many corporations; among which Chichester was included, in order to raise money to enable him to

assist

* This act was made A. D. 1585, and in the year 1620 was created lord high admiral of England.

assist his son-in-law, Frederic, elector-palatine and king of Bohemia; who, after the battle of Prague, was reduced to great distress; and being at the head of the protestant interest in Germany, looked to England for support. An account of the principal heads of this charter I find among the notes of Mr. Clarke—the first part of which is as follows:

“ Charters of the city of Chichester granted
 “ by king James I. the fourteenth year of his reign,
 “ i. e. A. D. 1617, mention the earl of Arundel as the
 “ high steward; but say nothing of his being of the
 “ corporation; or how constituted. The mayor and
 “ bailiff elected formerly by ALL the inhabitants of the
 “ city;”—this appears by this charter:—“ a mayor,
 “ a bailiff, a portreve, a customer—all such as have
 “ born these offices, of the common-council, have
 “ a power to make bye-laws, to raise money pay-
 “ able to the king. The Monday before Michaelmas
 “ to assemble in the guildhall, or elsewhere, to elect
 “ a mayor, a bailiff, by the common-council; as fixt
 “ by this charter, i. e. the old method of election
 “ altered.—A recorder, in legibus Angliæ eruditum,
 “ to be chosen by the common-council—and so a
 “ town-clerk. The mayor to choose the portreve
 “ and customer.” &c.

The

The high-steward mentioned above was Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel and Surry, and grand-son of Thomas, duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded in the reign of queen Elizabeth. He (the earl) married Alatheia, daughter of Gilbert, earl of Shrewsbury, with whom he received a vast fortune; and the extensive manor of Worksop, in Nottinghamshire.—The name of this great prince will ever be dear to the friends of learning, on account of his making, at a prodigious expence, the collection known by the name of the Arundel Marbles, afterwards presented by his grandson Henry, duke of Norfolk, to the university of Oxford; in the theatre of which they now remain, lasting monuments to future ages of his fame. They are antient stones, from one of which, according to dean Prideaux's account, (who published an account of their inscriptions in 1676) it appears that the first colony from Egypt arrived in Greece 1512 years before the birth of Christ. Some others of them are particularly interesting in having the history of Athens inscribed on them, in the island of Paros, 360 years before the Christian æra. The geography of Greece is to be found only in itself, but the best monuments of its history, by
the

the unwearied research, and munificent spirit of this great man, are to be found in England. To the seacher into antient history these marbles are of inestimable value; as the beams of light which they throw on the history of their own age, may be diverted to illuminate ages long before; and pierce even to the origin of time.

His lordship's collection of paintings, sculpture, carvings, and every thing that tends to promote learning, and embellish life, was not less magnificent, various, and intrinsically valuable. For an "Ecce Homo," from the pencil of Titian, he is said to have offered seven thousand pounds: which was refused. In the course of nine months he laid out seventy thousand pounds, in purchasing the most valuable antiquities. Of Hans Holbein's paintings he had more than all the world besides—and was the first person of quality, and knowledge in the fine arts in this nation, that set a just value on the works of that great master. He was besides the friend and patron of many others, whose names do honour to their country: Seldon, Camden, sir Henry Spelman, sir Robert Cotton, and others.

The

The popish religion, the only religion tolerated in England for many centuries, consisted almost entirely of external observances. The Reformation, which took place in the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, opened a new scene; and inculcated duties on the people which they had never heard of before, the Christian virtues of temperance, meekness, and universal benevolence. Instead of resting the salvation of the souls of men on the merits and intercession of the saints, on papal absolution, &c. it required purity of heart, as an indispensable mean of future happiness.—It is the nature of man, especially of man but half enlightened, to pass quickly from one extreme to its opposite. Very early in the reign of Elizabeth, a description of people made its appearance in England, pretending to an extraordinary degree of sanctity, called Puritans. This sect increased so fast, and their number was so great in the house of commons, so early as the year 1585, that they thought themselves able to carry a motion for a further reformation of religion. In this they were disappointed; but they obtained a conference, which was held at Lambeth, before arch-bishop Whitgift; at which the earl of Leicester, and the
 privy-

privy-council attended. Under the strong coercive government of Elizabeth, they were kept in due subordination ; and every attempt which they made to procure a reformation, either in church or state, was quashed. It is a fact, I believe not generally known, that in this reign, a few persons were put to death for non-conformity ; of whom some were burnt at the stake: and a considerable number thrown into gaol for the same crime. But as persecution is not the most effectual way of suppressing opinions, either true or false, before the end of this reign almost every town in England was filled with dissenters ; who, in the succeeding reign, thwarted the king in many of his most darling schemes, stripped the crown of its most dangerous prerogatives, and in the next laid it in the dust.

CHAPTER XX.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES IN THE CITY OF CHICHESTER, AND THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX, BEFORE THEIR SUPPRESSION BY HENRY VIII. KING OF ENGLAND.

THE first monastery that was founded in Sussex was at Selsea—the charter of which was given by Adelwalch, king of Sussex, to Wilfrid, who subscribed the deed in the name of Wilfridus, archiepiscopus, (viz. Ebor.) This charter is dated the 3d of August, A. D. 683—and includes in it the whole peninsula of Selsea, and a considerable part of the Manewode. The extent and bounds of the grant are thus expressed in the Latin of that time—“ ab introitu portus qui appellatur Anglice Wyderingg post retrac-
tum mare in Cumenchore, sic versus occidentalem
plagam juxta mare usque Rombrug, in ante juxta
littus maris usque Chevesstone, inde in ante juxta
littus usque heremuth, et inde versus Septentrion-
alem plagam, in longum fluvii usque Wyalesflet
“ usque

“ usque Brunesyke : exit inde versus Orientem in
 “ longum prædicti fossati in Woflet ; in versus
 “ Orientem in logum Fluvii, and sic versus Austra-
 “ lem plagam usque Wyderingg.” (Undering.)—

The monastery was soon after endowed, to a very considerable amount, with lands, tenements, and other property, in various parts ; Highley, Earnly, Lidsey, Aldingborn, Eastergate, Mundham, and Siddlesham. It was dedicated to saint Peter, and erected on the south-east side, and adjoining to the spot where the parish-church now stands. As wood was then, and for several centuries after, the principal article used in building, we may therefore conclude that this monastery, including the houses of the monks, offices, &c. was constructed of that material. Of that they had the greatest abundance, and they used it accordingly : their buildings were heavy, strong, and substantial ; and calculated more for convenience and durability than for show. Though we have no accounts from tradition of the Danes having landed here, and plundered the place, (except the time when they made a descent, and remained in Pagham-harbour, close adjoining) yet as the religious houses were the places where they expected and found

found the richest booty, and as this monastery was on the very brink of the main ocean, it is not too much to say that it can hardly be supposed to have escaped unhurt. There is a tradition that there was a nunnery at Bosham in the time of the Saxons—but as the Conqueror, and all the Normans, did all that lay in their power to root out the very memory of every thing that pertained to that people, we need not wonder that in many instances they should succeed. At the same place some of the Saxon or Danish kings, (probably the latter) had a castle of residence; part of the ruins of which, and of the moat, may be traced to this day, not far from the church. It is said, a daughter of Canute the Great was buried in that church; and if so, it is most likely that that prince built the said castle. However that be, it is agreed that Harold, son of earl Godwin, (afterwards Harold II.) resided here, and that it was from thence, that he went A. D. 1056, to the court of William, duke of Normandy, to procure the release of his brother Unloth, and his nephew Hacun; where he was himself detained, contrary to the laws of hospitality; and obliged, in order to obtain his

release, to give the Norman a formal resignation of his pretensions to the crown of England.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that before the Conquest there was a monastery in Chichester, on the spot where the cathedral now stands ; though there be no record thereof, and but a very faint tradition. It is well known that in most towns, and populous places in England, there were such institutions at that time.

At Boxgrove there was a priory, dedicated to the virgin Mary, for monks of the Benedictine order, founded in the reign of Henry I. about the year 1117, by Robert de Haye. It received many valuable endowments from the earls of Arundel, from the family of Saint John, one of whom married Cicily, daughter of the said Robert, and from many others, (as appears from the confirmation of Hilary, bishop of Chichester, A. D. 1149) of grants in Boxgrove, Halnaker, Houghton, Walberton, Barnham, Hunston, Birdham, Keinor, Ichenor, &c. The yearly rent of all which, according to the account of the commissioners under Henry the eighth, amounted to 145*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* No small sum, in those days, no doubt; notwithstanding which, it is certain that the
accounts

accounts they gave in were greatly under the truth ; perhaps in many instances they embraced only the quit-rents, and omitted the contingences arising from fines on the renewal of leases. In the same list Arundel-college is valued at 168*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.*—Domus Eleemosinarum Sanct. Trinit. Arundel, at 42*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* The hospital of saint James in Chichester, for lepers, at 4*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* The hospital of the blessed Mary there, at 11*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.** At Tortington there was a priory,

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* The hospital of the blessed Mary in Chichester, in saint Martin's square, was originally a nunnery, founded by William, the fifth dean of Chichester, A. D. 1173 or 1174 : at what time, or on what occasion it was converted into an hospital for indigent persons, I can form no conjecture. There is no doubt but the affairs of the nunnery, and afterwards of the hospital, were under the guardianship and in the management of the dean and chapter. At present it contains six poor women, and two poor men ; of whom five have a stipend or allowance of two shillings a week, a cord and a half of wood, and half a hundred of faggots each per annum, and a certain quota of the fines as they fall ; the other three have only house room, and a share of the rent of the garden, belonging to the hospital. At what time this regulation was made cannot be ascertained ; but it is supposed to have been many years ago. There is a very neat chapel belonging to the hospital, where the morning and evening service of the church is read every day in the week, sunday excepted. Before the year 1770, only the morning service was read, sundays and holidays excepted. In the beginning of that year, died Mr. George Sedgwick, who by his will,

for monks of the order of saint Augustine, of the yearly value, according to the same catalogue, of 75*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.*—but when, or by whom founded, I find no account: nor of the hospital of Bidlington, which is put down at 1*l.* per annum. The abbey of Durford is put down in the Monasticon, among the religious houses in this county—Henry Hussey, gentleman, and Henry Guildford, gentleman, the principal benefactors—it stands for 98*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* and was of the Benedictine order: as was also the priory of Ruspur, stated at 39*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.* yearly value. Of the priory of Easebourne no account is to be found in the

will, dated the 30th of December, 1767, left 400*l.* to the dean and chapter in trust: whereof 100*l.* towards the education of the poor girls of the city, and 300*l.* the interest of which, in the four per cents, to be applied to pay ten guineas a year to a clergyman, for reading the evening prayers of the church in the hospital, with the same exception of sundays and holidays, and the remaining thirty shillings for ringing the bell. Hitherto no provision was made for duty to be done there on the holidays throughout the year: to remedy which, and to increase the salary of the chaplain, and raise it in some degree to an adequate consideration for his trouble, Mrs. Ann Painblanc, who had frequented the chapel many years, and died the 16th day of March, 1793, gave to the said dean and chapter in trust, 500*l.* the interest of which, in her will, she requested might be applied to answer the fore-mentioned purposes,

the Monasticon, of the date of its foundation: from Leland it appears that it was founded by John Bone, and endowed by David Owen, gentleman, for Benedictine monks, and rated in the list at 29*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* The college of South-Malling, near Lewes, at 45*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.* The abbey of Robertsbridge was built and endowed by Robert de Saint Martin, in the reign of Henry II. A. D. 1176, for monks of the Cistercian order—it stands in the account before-mentioned, at 248*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*—and the priory of Michelham at 160*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* which was founded by Gilbert de Aquila, with the assent and consent of Henry III. king of England, about the year 1240, for monks of the order of saint Augustine. The priory of Hastings was founded by Walter Bricet, at what time I find not; but believe it to have been soon after the Conquest, “*postea usque Warbilton, ratione fluctuum maris translatum:*” (afterwards removed to Warbleton, on account of the incursions of the sea) it is rated at 51*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*

But all these were greatly eclipsed in splendour and richness of endowment, by the two famous abbeys of Battle and Lewes: the former built and endowed by the Conqueror, inscribed to St. Martin,

for Benedictine monks; and the other by William de Warrene, earl of Surry, in the time of William Rufus, the Conqueror's son and successor, dedicated to saint Pancrass, for Clunian monks—the yearly revenues of the royal abbey were stated in the list to be 880*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.*—those of the earl's, 920*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*—In the Monasticon there are very full and long accounts of the many valuable estates wherewith each of these abbeys were endowed; and the patronages conferred upon them; so that though the account of their rentals delivered to Henry in 1534 be high, there is no doubt but it was considerably under the truth in both cases. Lewes abbey was at first alien, till Edward III. in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, changed their charter, and appointed that henceforth it should be an English abbey only; for which indulgence the abbot and brothers gave to the crown the perpetual patronage of four churches, mentioned in the said charters. The altar of the church in Battle, was erected on the spot where the dead body of Harold was found,

It is remarkable that the Conqueror caused this abbey to be built “*pro suis in bello occisis*,” (for the Normans that had fallen in the battle.) As

to the sixty thousand English who perished in that unhappy scene of human slaughter, and the many thousands who were afterwards butchered in cold blood, the holy brothers of Feschamp were not enjoined to chant any masses for their souls, or invoke the throne of mercy to pardon their sins : they were Anglo-Saxons, and therefore in the estimation of William and his Normans, unworthy to be taken notice of by men of such consequence as they.

Besides the above-mentioned religious seminaries, there were several others of less note ; some of which for the reason above-mentioned, I believe are not to be found in the Monasticon.

The priory of Pinham, near Arundel, was founded by Adeliza, the second queen of Henry I. who, after the death of Henry, married William de Albini, who possessed Arundel, and the castle thereof, in right of his wife, and endowed the said priory with several valuable grants :—it was dedicated to saint Bartholomew, for monks of the Augustin order. (See Dug. Tom. II. p. 143.) The priory of Eringham, near Shoreham, was founded by William Paynel, in the sixth year of Edward III. A. D. 1333, for Seculars; and endowed with his manor of Cokcham—thirty-

two acres of land, in Lancing, with the appurtenances, “cum passagio ultra aquam de Nova Shoreham.” (Ibid. p. 181.)—In the *Monasticon* there is a long account of “*Abbatia de Begeham, in agro Sussexiano*”—(the abbey of Begeham, in the county of Sussex)—it was founded by Randolp de Dena, and dedicated to the blessed Mary and saint Lawrence, for monks of the order of (*Præmonstratensis*) fortune-tellers: at what particular time cannot be determined as the charters are without date. It appears however that it was prior to, or in the reign of king John; as his letters of approbation and confirmation of all the endowments and grants, are annexed. It may be worth remarking here, that in almost all the grants made to religious houses, they were endowed not only with lands, houses, &c. but with the men and women appertaining thereto. In the charter of foundation of Begeham, Randolph the founder, endows it with “my men of Dudintune—scilicet. “Gledwyne, fratrem Speg, cum quinque Solidatis “*terræ*, (farms) Johannem Cnokedune, Gilbertum “*Carpentarium*, (the carpenter) Willielmum Cnokedune, Hugonem, Thomas de Farnstrete, cum terra “sua and Robertum Bunt and Wlfi wiver, and
“*hœredes*

“hæredes suos, et hæredes fratris sui Grig,”—his children, and the children of his brother Grig, &c.

In the *Monasticon*, in the catalogue of priories that were dissolved A. D. 1414, Hoo in agro Sussezi-ano, is inserted as one. In another part of the book (Tom. III. p. 199. par. II.) it appears that the ecclesiastical revenues of Hoo and Preston, of Compton, North-Mundham, and Undering, with other donations, were given by Henry VI. to the collegiate-church of Eton, near Windeshore (Windsor.)

In a parliament, holden at Leicester, in the second year of the reign of Henry V. all the alien priories in England and Wales were dissolved, to the number of more than an hundred and thirty: six of which were in this county; viz. Arundel, Boxgrove, Horsford, (perhaps Horsted) Leominster, Sela and Wilmington. That they were not all immediately suppressed is evident from the catalogue of the religious houses, that was delivered to Henry VIII. in which Boxgrove and Arundel are particularly mentioned, with the yearly value of each.

Though the discipline of these seminaries was greatly relaxed, and the morals of the religious in great measure degenerated from their original institutions,

stitutions, especially in the lesser monasteries, which were first suppressed ; we ought not to suppose that they were so corrupt and so vicious, as they were then, and have been since represented. It is hard to say whether avarice or prodigality predominated most in the breast of Henry. He had wasted the vast treasures left him by his father ; so had he money to a very great amount, which he borrowed of several of his subjects, under the security of the great seal, but never paid—but was still needy, and some new expedient must be resorted to, to relieve his wants ; the monasteries seemed best adapted to answer that end : the immense property belonging to which, would satiate his wishes. We are therefore warranted in saying that it was rather the riches of the monasteries, than the corruption of the monks, that occasioned their ruin. Though neither the king's conscience nor his ideas, were scrupulously nice concerning right and wrong ; yet this act of aggression was too flagrant to be committed without a gloss—and shifting the blame and odium of it from himself, and laying them to the charge of the sufferers themselves. They who consider the credulity of the people, and how easily they are imposed upon, will not

be surprised that in the course of a very few years, by the management of the courtiers, the public looked upon the monks in a very different light from what they had done before. The mouth of every candidate for promotion at court, was opened against them ; and no one dared to advocate their cause before the tribunal of the public ; as the king's sentiments were generally known. The wishes of the greatest part of the nobility, and monied men, coincided with those of the king on the subject ; as they entertained hopes (which were not disappointed) of sharing indirectly with his highness in the rich spoils of these seminaries, &c. which the piety or superstition of their ancestors had founded.

After the public mind was duly prepared, the king, in order to induce the house of commons to accede to the measure, agreed that “ if they would
 “ give unto him all the abbayes, priories, frieries,
 “ nunneries, and other monasteries, that for ever in
 “ time to come, he would take order that the same
 “ should not be converted to private use ; but that
 “ his exehequer should be enriched, in order to
 “ strengthen the kingdom by a continual maintain-
 “ ance of forty thousand well-trained soldiers, with
 “ skilful

“ skillful officers and commanders; and secondly,
 “ and chiefly for the benefit, ease, and exhoneration
 “ of the people, who never in any time to come
 “ should be charged with subsidies, fifteenths, leases,
 “ or other common aides.” (taxes.)*

In this universal wreck, when even Oxford and Cambridge trembled for their safety, it is matter of surprise that the hospital for poor people in Chichester, dedicated to the blessed Mary, escaped the general ruin. Perhaps its meanness in a pecuniary view contributed to its preservation. Perhaps it owed its exemption from sale to the intercession of the bishop of the diocese Dr. Day, with Cromwell the secretary: and it may be, it owes its existence to the charity and liberality of some person who purchased its exemption from annihilation with money; and the generous transaction now covered with oblivion. Several of the visitors petitioned the king that some of the houses might be spared on account of the virtue of the persons in them, and the benefit which the country derived from them. Bishop Latimer moved that two or three might be left in every county,

* Dugd. Monas. Tom. I. 1049.

county, "for pious uses." But Cromwell (by the king's *permission*) invaded all.

After the fall of the western Roman empire, A. D. 476, the barbarians who had over-run, and taken possession of almost all Europe, had no relish for literature: war was their study, and letters their contempt. We need not then be surprised that such a state was followed by a long uncomfortable night of mental darkness: a darkness so gross, that nothing but the mild beams of the Christian religion could penetrate the dreadful gloom, and even that by slow degrees.—Ages seemed to have rolled over mankind in vain; during this long hopeless night, learning found a welcome sanctuary in these sacred edifices; and though it must be owned that for many ages science did not receive great improvement, to them we owe, in great measure, that its light was not wholly extinguished: a benefit which deserved more consideration than they experienced at last. The hospitality of these houses, in every period of their existence, was great and exemplary. In them many thousands of the younger children of the nobility and great families were educated, maintained, and supported according to their dignity; in them they

resided

resided frequently from early youth to the day of their death.

I do not suppose that the preceeding exhibits a full list of all the monasteries in this diocese, that were built and founded during the time that the Romish religion prevailed here. The principal information on this head, is taken from sir William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*: from which I have collected with all the care, attention, and I will add caution, that I could. But the names of places have undergone so great changes since the time when these seminaries were established, that in several instances it is not easy to determine the exact place that is meant. Besides, sir William himself was an indefatigable investigator of antient history; but in many instances, was obliged to depend upon the care, correctness, and veracity of his friends and agents, in various parts of England. His agent in this county I think, has not always been sufficiently correct. Several of the charters of the religious houses are said to be granted by "Numa Rex Suthsax," whereas it does not appear that there ever was a king of the South-Saxons of that name: indeed, it is evident from history, that there never was. The chronology
of

of some of the charters is contradictory to that of others. In the copy of the Monasticon, belonging to the dean and chapter, (the use of which I had from the kindness of the librarian) there is written (Tom. III. p. 117.) apparently by the late learned Mr. Clarke, canon-residentiary—"It is plain there must be great mistakes in these charters, as transcribed and sent up to Mr. Dugdale." This being the case, when I doubted, I stopped my hand; that I might not fall into an error.

Tradition informs us, that beside the religious houses above-mentioned, there were in Chichester, two convents of friars, grey and white; the former near the north-gate, and the latter near the east-gate: the first retains the name of the Friary to this day: the other bears no memorial even in name of what it was. It is said to have occupied all that space from the east-gate to Baffin's lane, as you go towards the cross; and included all that is now in the occupation of Mrs. Tuffnel, and part of the premises belonging to Mrs. Bull. As I have no records to depend on, nor certain authority of any kind relating to either of these seminaries, I shall not trouble the reader with a recital of unauthenticated details, which may

be true or false. The order of Grey, or Franciscan friars, was instituted by saint Francis, A. D. 1209, and appeared first in England in the reign of Henry the third, A. D. 1224, and fostered by the bishop of Winchester, Peter de Rockes, or sir Peter de Rupibus, a Poictevan by birth, who at that time ruled the church of England, the king, and in some measure, the kingdom; as far as the opposition of the barons would permit. In the reign of Henry VII. they were divided into two parties; the spirituals and the conventuals: which last had fifty-five houses at the time of the dissolution.—A second order of friars were called the White friars, or Carmelites.—A third order was that of the Black friars, or Dominicans: who made their first appearance in England about the year 1240. Of this order was saint Richard, bishop of Chichester. They were warmly patronized by the Roman pontiffs: who used their services principally for the suppression of the Albigenses.—The other order of friars in England took on them the name and rules of saint Augustine, and appeared first in England A. D. 1256, under their general Lanfranc.

The monks, called the Benedictine monks, had their institution from saint Benedict, born in Italy,
about

about the year 480. Early in his life he retired to Sublaco, fourteen miles from Rome; and shut himself up in a cave, where no man knew any thing of him, except saint Romanus, who used to descend to him by a rope. When he was found out many persons resorted to him, followed him, and put themselves under his direction. In 528, he retired to mount Cassino, where idolatry then prevailed, and where there was a temple of Apollo; which he demolished, and built two chapels on the mount. Here he founded a monastery, and instituted the order that bears his name: and here too he composed his *Regula Monachorum*. The time of his death is uncertain; between the years 540 and 550. He was the Elisha of his time. Many miracles are said to have been wrought by him; which are recorded in the second book of the dialogues of saint Gregory the great. (Vide Dugd.)

The lax discipline, the unsteady principles, and the degenerate morals of modern time, cannot appreciate, and hardly believe, the rigid discipline, fervent piety, and unbounded charity which characterized the original institutions and lives of the Benedictine monks. I mean not to be the panegyrist of

the founder of their order: but surely it is time for mankind to surmount the delusion which has so long trampled on their judgement, and prevented them from judging of men and things with impartiality and candour. A few years before the time that Benedict retired from the world, that is A. D. 452, Atilla, "*the scourge of God and terror of man,*" had over-run the Roman empire, with seven hundred thousand men, or rather monsters, and threatened even imperial Rome with final destruction:* what service could a helpless individual have rendered his country by remaining at his post in such circumstances, greater than flying to a desert, and impertuning heaven to pity and alleviate the distress of suffering humanity?—"Infælix seculum in quo tota
 "Romanorum Europa Ferro Barbarorum, flammaque
 "fædissime vastata fuit, and Religio Christiana pene
 "obruta: quasi funestissimâ istâ ætatê comparatum
 "fuisset hoc vivendi institutum, adversus humanas
 "miserias refugium." (See Dugd.)

* It was saved from pillage and destruction at the intercession of Leo the Great, bishop of Rome—but afterwards A. D. 455, taken and sacked by Genseric, king of the Vandals.



CHAPTER XXI.

OF THE COMPARATIVE VALUE OF MONEY AT DIFFERENT
TIMES.—PROVISIONS—ANIMAL FOOD—WHEAT—WINES
—PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION—LIST OF SUSSEX GENTLE-
MEN.

THOUGH the value of money, from the Conquest to the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, was not stationary; yet did it not fall rapidly, but sank gradually and imperceptibly in the lapse of many years. So that the same money which at the Conquest would have purchased a certain quantity of the necessaries of life; though it would not have procured the same quantity at the beginning of the reign of Henry VII.—yet would it have paid for almost one half thereof. The price of wheat, at the last-mentioned time, was from twenty-pence to two-shillings per bushel, on the average of years, and of places too; for it is to be observed that it frequently happened, that at the same time, the

price would be nearly double at one part of the kingdom, of what it was at another—so imperfect was the communication, and so difficult the carriage or conveyance in those days. In the year 1438, the sixteenth year of the reign of Henry VI, the price was as high in London as three shillings the bushel; till an importation from Prussia or Poland, reduced it to not more than two shillings.—During all this time the average price of cattle was low in comparison; because in all uncivilized, or half-civilized countries, the stock which multiplies of itself, ever has been, and ever will be, cheaper in comparison, than that which requires the labour and art of man, and capital to raise it.

The animal food which they used was not fatted, at any part of the time I speak of, as it is at present: in the present day, the carcasses of the beasts which they then slaughtered, would not be reckoned more than half fatted. The breed of their cattle was not so large as the present—in every respect they were inferior. In the beginning of the reign of Edward the second, the price of (what they called) a fat ox, was twenty-four shillings; and in the days of Henry the seventh, between three and four pounds: not
that

that the value of money had fallen in that proportion; but principally because they had improved the breed of their cattle—and so had they the degree of fattening them. So, in the first-mentioned time, the price of a fat wether was twenty pence, and in the latter, nearly three times as much; for the same reasons.

In the year 1251, the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Henry III. an assize of bread was made, for the regulation of the London-bakers—the lowest calculation was for wheat at three shillings per quarter, and the highest at twenty shillings per quarter.* yet did the price sometimes rise higher, and sometimes fall lower than the assize: which shews the very imperfect state of agriculture at that time. In the thirteenth year of the reign of Edward I. A. D. 1285, it was ordained that millers should have but “*one halfe penie*” for grinding a quarter of wheat.†

We are informed in the history of the time, that in the year 1315, wheat sold for ten shillings per bushel—and in the year following was as low as ten pence for the same quantity. (Vide Hume.) At that time the price of a goose was from two pence

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to

* Vide Stowe's Survey of London, p. 740.—† Ibid. p. 564.

to three pence. A fat capon two pence. A Hen one penny. Two chickens the same price. Two pigeons one penny. A gallon of French wine, called Gascoigne wine, four pence. Rhenish wine six pence a gallon. The wine most commonly drank in England for several centuries, and even as lately as the reign of queen Elizabeth, was called Sack; which was the Gascoigne wine highly sweetened with honey, and warmed with spices. (See Henry.) These are the prices which the several articles mentioned, bore in London; and in Chichester we may conclude, the difference was not much; the price of grain, cattle and poultry a little lower, for the most part, but in times of great dearth, considerably higher—because it must have been more difficult here to find a supply from a foreign or distant quarter, than in London. In the time of Edward III. and for a considerable time after, (and perhaps before) the pay of a labouring man was three pence a day, (See Hume and Henry) the price of a goose, or the seventh part of a fat wether.

In all this time, the long period under consideration, very many of the bishops were the protectors and patrons of this city: as the bishops
Randolph,

Randulph, Ralph Neville, Gilbert de Saint Leofard, John de Langton, Edward Story, and others. To which we may add, the country gentlemen for several miles round, contributed greatly both to support the trade of it, and to employ the mechanic, &c. by resorting hither, and residing here during the winter season; some in lodgings, and many in their own town-house: for the fashion of those times was not for the country gentlemen and their families, to repair to London the one half of the year; but to some neighbouring town; in which they spent a considerable part of the produce of their estates; and enjoyed the society of their friends and acquaintance.

About the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Chichester malt began to be in repute, throughout the greatest part of this county, and part of Hampshire and Surry. This appears from several of the malting-houses which were standing here so late as the year 1770; both in the plan and manner of building, they had the mark and characteristic of that age: and the timbers likewise, generally oak, bore witness to their antiquity. At what time this manufacture began to be exported to Ireland, I do not find: not before the time of queen Elizabeth, it is

is probable, perhaps not till the reign of James. However that be, it was a very valuable article of trade to Chichester, enriching many individuals, and benefitting the city in general. So lately as forty or fifty years ago there were several of these malting houses in the town more than there are now; the manufacture was then on the decline, as it had been for some time.—The needle-manufacture in Chichester never thoroughly recovered from the cruel interruption and desolations of the civil war in England. About fifty years ago it employed forty or fifty hands, and supported almost twenty families: but it is now entirely dropped.

It is difficult to give an accurate account of the refinement, or want of refinement, in the manners of a people at any time: and still more so to trace the progress thereof from savage rudeness to polished urbanity. The Normans, when they first came into England, looked upon themselves to be a polished people; but they were far from being so in reality. To the finer feelings of humanity they had, in truth, no manner of pretence. Strangers to the charities of life, their hearts were as cold, and their dispositions as rugged as the Norweigan mountains from which they

they sprang. No melioration in the habit of their living took place among them for many years. Their ferocity was strengthened by their political institutions—and very little softened by their religion, which was corrupt, and breathed the spirit of Mahomet more than that of the gospel.—John, though a tyrant, and unacquainted with humanity, paved the way, and opened a glimmering door of hope, of future deliverance from the state of barbarity and rudeness, in which the people lived; by the protection and encouragement which he gave to the corporations: for it is certain that the asperity of men's manners is sooner overcome in towns than in the country: that from the collision of interests and opinions, men associated together sooner acquire a polish and refinement than when they live in a state of separation—and are in a manner unconnected with one another: the small share of Christianity which entered into the composition of their religion, no doubt had some influence on their minds, and disposed them to humanity: so must also even their superstition, and that fervor of spirit which induced so many of them to hazard and sacrifice their lives in a distant climate: the crusades likewise: the spread
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of knowledge, in consequence of the invention of printing; the increase of foreign trade ; each of these causes, and others, contributed, in the revolution of ages, to correct the harsh features of the times. By slow degrees, indeed, did the manners of the people of England emerge from the gulf of rudeness into which the Norman-English kings, barons, &c. had plunged them.—Though the habits of their living, and mutual intercourse, had been improving for several centuries before the time of Henry VIII. yet had they not then arrived to a great degree of refinement. In the third year of that reign, A. D. 1512, the earl of Northumberland's household-book began ; in which are noted some of the rules of the domestic œconomy of that great family. By that it appears, that my lord's board-end (that is, the end of the table where he and his principal guests were seated) was served with a different and more delicate kind of viands, than those allotted to the lower end. " It is thought good (says that curious record) that " no plivers be brought at any time, but only at " Christmas, and the principal feasts ; and my lord " to be served therewith, *and his board-end, and no* " *other.*" The line of distinction was marked by a
large

large *salt-cellar*, placed in the middle of the table: above which, at my lord's end, sat the distinguished guests: and below it those of an inferior class. Not only the viands were different, but also the beverage or liquors; and so was the attendance.

In the time of the Saxons property was vested in many hands: a system of justice and patriotism which the Normans compleatly overturned; and, as far as political institutions could effect, prevented from obtaining at any future period. Immediately after the Conquest, the freeholders in Sussex were very few in number: and, from the operation of the laws of primogeniture, and entail, continued so for many generations: as appears from the following return of all the gentlemen in this county, in the year 1434—the eleventh of Henry VI.

Sir Thomas Echingham, Kt. of Westdean, in the Rape of Pevensey	Sir Robert Roos, Kt.
Sir Hugh Hailsham, Kt.	Sir Henry Hussey, Kt.
Sir Roger Fiennes, Kt. (Related to Lord D'Acre)	Richard Dalynghigge, Esq. (Of Bodiam Castle)
Sir Thomas Lewkenor,* Kt.	Edward Sakevyle, Esq.
	William Ryman, Esq. (Of Appledram)

Roger

* A warm friend of the line of Lancaster. His son, Sir John Lawkenor, in the reign of Edward IV. A. D. 1471, was slain in the battle of Tewksbury, fighting under prince Edward, son of Henry VI.

Roger Gunter,	Esq.	J. Parker de Lewes,	Gent.
(Of Racton)		*Richard Waller,	Esq.
Robert Lyle,	Gent.	John Ledes,	Esq.
John Bartelot,	Gent.	John Bramshel,	Esq.
William Ernele,	Gent.	Richard Cook,	Esq.
Walter Urry,	Gent.	Richard Farnfold,	Gent.
John Lylve,	Gent.	John Burdevyle,	Esq.
John Knottesford,	Esq.	Rad. Rademeld,	Esq.
Richard Profyt,	Gent.	John Apsley,	Gent.
John Bolney,	Gent.	Richard Green,	Gent.
Walter Fust,	Gent.	Thomas Green,	Gent.
John Wiltshire,	Gent.	William Blast,	Gent.
Ade Ivode,	Gent.	Robert Tank,	Gent.
(Heywood)		John Bradebrugge,	Gent.
Wm. Halle de Ore,	Gent.	(Broadbridge)	
John Oxebrugge,	Gent.	William Delve,	Gent.
(Oxbridge)		William Shrswell,	Gent.
Thomas Oxebrugge,	Gent.	John Lunsford,	Gent.
Robert Arnorld,	Gent.	John Penhurst,	Gent.
John Peres,	Gent.	John Goring,	Gent.
Richard Danmere,	Gent.	Simon Chyene,	Gent.
Thomas Stanton,	Gent.	John Vest,	Gent.
Thomas Cotes,	Gent.	Thomas Ashburnham,	Esq.
John Wyghtrynge,	Gent.	(Of Broomham)	
(Of Wittering)		Richard Clothule,	Gent.
William Hoare,	Gent.	Robert Hyberden,	Gent.
John Sherar,	Gent.	John Dragon,	Gent.
John Hilly,	Gent.	Thomas Surflet,	Gent.
William Warnecamp,	Gent.	Henry Exton,	Gent.
William Merwe,	Gent.	John Symmond,	Gent.
Tobias Grantford,	Gent.	William Scardevyle,	Gent.
Rad. Vest,	Gent.	William Yevan,	Gent.
J. Hammes de Padyngho, do.			John

* Ancestor of the Leader of the Parliamentary Army, and of Edmund Waller the Poet.

John Rombrigg, Gent.
 Henry Wendon, Gent.
 Richard Danel, Gent.

Richard Roper, Gent.
 Thomas Fustingden, Gent.
 Rad. Shreswell, Gent.

These freeholders, seventy-four in number, were laymen—besides whom the return contained six ecclesiastics—namely the abbots of Robertsbridge, Battle, Begeham, and the priors of Lewes, Hastings, and Michelham—making altogether eighty: a very small number: most probably only the *principal* gentlemen, omitting the lesser freeholders—or it may be the commissioners returned only the friends of the house of Lancaster, and over-looked those of the York party: and, even on that supposition, the number was low.

The commissioners were—

S—Bishop of Chichester
 John Earl of Huntingdon,
 William St. John
 William Sidney

Simon Sidenham
 Lord Hastings

} Knights of the Shire.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF WILLIAM CAWLEY THE REGICIDE.—CHICHESTER BESIEGED AND TAKEN BY THE PARLIAMENTARY ARMY, UNDER SIR WILLIAM WALLER.—FURY OF THE PURITANS LEVELLED AGAINST THE CHURCHES.—DEVASTATIONS COMMITTED IN THE CITY—SIR ARTHUR HASLERIG'S HOSTILE VISIT HITHER. DISMAL CONDITION OF THE CITY—AFFECTING INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE EARL OF S— AND A PERSON UNKNOWN.

IN the unhappy days of Charles I. when fanaticism filled the land, no doubt Chichester had its share: for how should it escape the general infection of the times: and it is commonly believed that William Cawley, who signed the warrant for the execution of the king, belonged to the corporation. This may well be doubted. The Mr. Cawley who was a member of the corporation, lived in the North-street, where now Mr. Ridge's brewhouse is. In the year 1625 he founded an alms-house without the North-gate, on the London road, for the reception of
twelve

twelve decayed tradesmen of the city, and endowed it with lands adjoining, for their support and maintenance, under the trust and direction of the mayor. It is reasonable to suppose that this charitable endowment was made by him towards the latter end of his days, at least not in his juvenile years. There is in the workhouse a portrait-painting of Mr. Cawley, “done A. D. 1620—Æt. 18.” So that at the time that the establishment of the alms-house was planned, he could not have been more than twenty or twenty-one years of age. The bequest therefore must have been the act of some other person—and not of one who was born A. D. 1602. That the charitable founder of the alms-house died before the year 1649, is no improbable supposition; and in that case, could not possibly be the Cawley who signed the warrant for the decapitation of the king.—If this reasoning be conclusive, no doubt will remain but the Mr. Cawley whose portrait is preserved in the poor-house, was the person who signed the warrant—and that the citizens of Chichester pay a very undeserved, and I am persuaded, unintended honour to the memory of a regicide, in preserving his picture with so much care.

As I believe it is not agreed among historians who the person was that performed the office of executioner on the unfortunate king, the reader, I hope, will pardon me for deviating from my subject in order to throw some light on that part of our history. Some accounts say it was a William Walker: others assign the office to Richard Brandon; and William Lilly, in his history of his own life and times, affirms that colonel Joyce used the fatal axe on the occasion. The following account of this matter is taken from the writings of M. Arnaud, a French author of great celebrity.

After the battle of Dittengen, the earl of S— too freely exposed the injudicious conduct of the commander in chief of the British forces there, which gave him great offence; for which reason the earl retired from court in disgust: and was preparing to go to his estate in Scotland, and there abide. A few days before his intended departure, he received a letter from an unknown hand, requesting an interview with him at a specified time and place—and the day after another letter, more pressing than the former. This was too singular to be wholly neglected; he therefore went to the place appointed—one of those bye-places

places in London that most commonly indicate poverty and wretchedness. There, in a mean garret, by the help of a glimmering light, he perceived a man lying on a bed, with every appearance of old age. "Be seated, my lord, (said he) you have nothing to fear from a man an hundred and twenty-five years old. Have you not occasion for certain writings (mentioning them) that relate to your family and fortune?" On lord S—— answering in the affirmative—"there they are (said he) deposited in that casket;" at the same time giving him the key. "To whom (said the other) am I indebted for this great favour?" If he was much surprised to learn that the miserable object before him was his great-grand-father, he was still more astonished when he told him that he was the masked executioner of king Charles I. "A cursed spirit of revenge (continued he) impelled me to this foul deed. I had been treated, as I supposed, with indignity by my sovereign. I suspected him of having seduced my sister; and was determined to be revenged for this imagined injury. I entered into and forwarded all the designs of Cromwell: and to compleat the measure of my wickedness, I solicited him to let

“ me be the executioner. The vengeance of heaven
 “ has pursued me ever since. I have been a wretched
 “ wanderer in Europe and Assia: and remorse has
 “ accompanied me in every place; while heaven has
 “ protracted my miserable life beyond the ordinary
 “ term of nature. That casket contains the remains
 “ of my fortune. I came here to end my wretched
 “ days. I had heard of your disgrace at court; the
 “ very reverse of what your virtues merited: and I
 “ wished, before I quitted this scene, to contribute
 “ thus to your welfare. All the return I request is,
 “ that you will leave me to myself; and shed a tear
 “ to the memory of one whose long, long, repen-
 “ tance may at last expiate his crimes.” Lord S—
 earnestly pressed his hoary ancestor to retire with
 him to Scotland; and there, under a fictitious name,
 pass the remainder of his days. He long withstood
 all his intreaties, till wearied out by importunity, he
 consented; or seemed to consent. The next day,
 however, when his lordship returned, he had quitted
 the spot; and notwithstanding all the researches he
 made, his fate remains a mystery to this day.*

In

* Vide Suppl. to Univ. Mag. 1785.

In the beginning of the civil war, soon after the battle of Edgehill, the king came from the western counties, as far as Hounslow, with the fond hope of terminating the distractions of the country, by a reasonable and cordial peace. While he lay at Reading, he was waited on by a delegation of Sussex gentlemen, of rank and fortune, requesting his permission and authority to raise the southern counties in his defence. Having obtained the necessary commissions, they pitched upon Chichester, being a walled town, as the place of their rendezvous. But in their expectations that the people would readily and cordially join them in the cause of their sovereign, they were greatly disappointed; so much that their muster-roll contained very few but their own dependents, and some of them followed them with reluctance. Receiving information, in the beginning of 1643, that the parliament had ordered sir William Waller, with a very considerable force, to attack and dislodge them. They strengthened their situation, repairing the fortifications, making some additions,* and laying up provisions, being deter-

z 3

mined

* At this time the bastion on the North-walls, between the two West-lanes, was erected, and appears to have been constructed
of

mined to defend the place, till they should receive assistance, either from his majesty directly, or from his friends in Exeter or Cornwall. The parliamentary army did not give them long time to deliberate on the measures of their defence; in the month of January or February, they made their appearance on the Broile, and immediately summoned the city to open its gates to the parliamentary army: as the order was not complied with, they opened batteries against it, and in ten or twelve days obliged the besieged to surrender on no better conditions than granting quarters.* (Vide Clarendon.) The historian, from whom this account is taken, has not given the particulars of the siege, having only informed us that the besieged was forced to capitulate, not being able to support the fatigue of the duty, the whole of which lay on them: from whence it has been inferred that the inhabitants were far from being friendly to the king's cause.

But

of the stones of the two small churches of saint Pancrass and saint Bartholomew, which they had razed, on account of their being posited without the walls.

* The north-west tower of the cathedral was then beaten down and not since rebuilt.

But to appreciate aright their principles, at that time, we ought to take into the account that they had received just cause of offence from these volunteers in loyalty, in having the city, by their means, subjected to the dangers, and all the calamities inseparable from a siege, to answer no purpose beneficial to the king. If they intended to serve his majesty, the field, or the open country was the proper place, and not to shut themselves up within the walls of a town; the possession of which they had gotten partly by force, and partly by stratagem. They saw the suburbs levelled with the ground; many of the goodliest fabrics within the walls greatly injured; and all in danger every hour to be demolished; several of the inhabitants killed, and all in jeopardy; and famine and want hanging over their heads. How great soever their loyalty to their prince might be, in these circumstances it was not to be expected that they should cordially co-operate with the men who had brought them into them.

The fury of the Puritans was levelled principally against the churches. By sir William's order they broke down the organ in the cathedral, and the large painted window facing the bishop's palace:

the ornaments in the choir they defaced ; beat down the tombs in the church ; at the same time carrying away several massy tables, containing the monumental inscriptions of the dead. In the vestry they seized upon the communion plate, the vestments of the clergy, &c. All the bibles, books of common-prayer, and the singing-books belonging to the choir, they tore, and scattered the leaves of them throughout the church and church-yard. The altar, both in the cathedral and in the church of the Subdeanry, they broke in pieces, together with the railing belonging to them, the pulpits, pews, and in short every thing that was not proof against their pole-axes. In this godly exercise the rule was “Cursed be he that doth
“ the work of the Lord deceitfully,” a rule from which the saints did not deviate : neither the Presbyterians in the beginning of their pious undertaking, nor the Independents in the concluding scene thereof.

In the year 1647 or 1648, another party of the parliamentary forces, under the command of sir Arthur Haslerig, by the procurement of Mr. Cawley, was sent hither by Oliver Cromwell, to finish the work of demolition, which, it was alledged, the other had left incompleat. Their commission reached
only

only against the ungodly : the godly (that is the Independents, the friends and favourers of Cromwell and the parliament) were not to be molested. When sir Arthur came to the city, he found none but those of the latter denomination, they of the former had prudently withdrawn before his approach. With furious zeal they set upon and beat down all the repairs that, in the intermediate time, had been made of the former devastations. The chapter-house, being locked, they forced open; and after seizing upon the public money belonging to the church, they utterly demolished every thing therein : even tearing down the wainscotting of the room. The episcopal palace shared the same fate : so did the deanry, the houses of the canons, vicars, and others belonging to the church. Sir Arthur was a rigid Independent, and in the accomplishment of praying, and preaching extempore, accounted little inferior to the best gifted among them, even Cromwell himself, whose cause he supported by every means in his power ; till he discovered an inclination in him to be invested with the insignia of royalty ; and to re-establish in his own person and family, the regal government.—Though the cathedral was the principal
object

object of their fury, the other churches in the city and neighbourhood, felt the weight of their zeal: for the Independents of those days denied the necessity, and even the propriety of appropriating either persons or houses for divine worship: and maintained that every person, learned or unlearned, when he found himself moved thereto by the spirit, was duly authorised to preach the gospel, and that what they thus taught was agreeable to the will of God. This they maintained stiffly and stubbornly: though the rhapsodies which they poured forth, were not only full of blasphemies, but also of contradictions.

After these severe visitations, the face and appearance of Chichester could not be inviting; but uncomfortable and gloomy, like the physiognomy and disposition of the greater part of its then inhabitants. The bishop, doctor Henry King, had fled from the city on the coming of sir William Waller: after whose departure, he returned to an occasional, precarious, and uncomfortable residence: but on the approach of sir Arthur, both he and all the clergy of the establishment in the city and neighbourhood, fled for safety wherever they could. After this, it does not appear that the bishop returned till the Restoration,

storation. Some of the clergy did occasionally, and officiated in private-houses to the few who still adhered to their religion. This may be collected from the very imperfect parochial registers of the time. In some these valuable records are wholly wanting, from (and even before) the year 1648 to 1660—and in others, a few names are to be found written, for the most part, in a very irregular manner. In those where they are fullest, and seem to approach to some regularity, I think it is not improbable that the several articles thereof, were copied from the memorandums of private families, and transferred, by the courtesy of the clergymen, after the Restoration, into the legal annals of the parish. But this is only conjecture.

In many parts of the kingdom matrimony was solemnized during the usurpation of Cromwell, by the justices of the peace, as they looked upon that rite to be only a civil contract; and therefore we may presume this was the case in the county of Sussex, and in Chichester: though I have not found in any of the registers which I have seen, an instance of that nature. In the county of Surry, parish of Bansted, Mr. John Marshall, of Wendover in Bucks,

was

was married to Mrss. Alice Buckle, by justice Potts: "she was the daughter of sir Christopher Buckle, in this place;" in the year 1653. In Mag. Brit. vol. V. p. 377, several other marriages are recorded.

THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF
A SUSSEX JURY,

Returned in the time of Independency,

<i>Approved</i>	Frewen of Nordjam
<i>Be thankful</i>	Maynard of Brightling
<i>Be courteous</i>	Cole of Pevensay
<i>Safety on High</i>	Snat of Uckfield
<i>Search the Scriptures</i>	Moreten of Salehurst
<i>More fruit</i>	Fowler of East-Hoadly
<i>Free-gift</i>	Mabbs of Chittingly
<i>Increase</i>	Weeks of Cuckfield
<i>Restore</i>	Weeks of the same
<i>Kill-sin</i>	Pemble of West-Ham
<i>Elected</i>	Mitchell of Heathfield
<i>Faint not</i>	Hurst of the same
<i>Renewed</i>	Wisberry of Haselham
<i>Return</i>	Milward of Hellingly
<i>Fly debate</i>	Smart of Waldren
<i>Fly fornication</i>	Richardson of the same
<i>Seek wisdom</i>	Wood of the same
<i>Much mercy</i>	Cryer of the same
<i>Fight the good fight of faith</i>	White of Ewhurst
<i>Small hope</i>	Biggs of Rye
<i>Earth</i>	Adams of Warbleton
<i>Repentance</i>	Avis of Shoreham
<i>The peace of God</i>	Knight of Burwash

CHAPTER XXIII.

AFTER THE RESTORATION, BISHOP KING RETURNS TO HIS SEE
 —WILLIAM CAWLEY FLIES—HIS ESTATES FORFEITED TO
 THE CROWN.—BODIES OF SOME OF THE REGICIDES HUNG
 AT TYBURN.—OF CHARLES II.—ENDEAVOURS TO BECOME
 ABSOLUTE—SEIZES THE CHARTERS OF LONDON, CHICHESTER,
 AND OTHERS—RESTORED BY JAMES II. BUT CHANGED.—
 DR. LAKE OF CHICHESTER, ONE OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS,
 SENT TO THE TOWER, TRIED, AND ACQUITTED.

AT the time of the restoration of the king, we cannot suppose that Chichester was in a flourishing condition: many of the most opulent, respectable, and useful inhabitants, had been expelled from it during the civil wars, and the usurpation of Cromwell; several found their situation uncomfortable; and the far greatest number of those that remained were sour Independents. In what manner the affairs of the corporation were then transacted, and the welfare and renovation of the city conducted, we may conjecture, but cannot describe; as no records thereof

thereof are to be found. On the 26th day of May the king landed at Dover; soon after which they who had taken possession of the houses of the clergy of the establishment, and of others, the friends of monarchy, thought proper to evacuate them. The bishop, doctor Henry King, was still alive, and soon returned to his see. He died in September, 1669, and was buried in the cathedral behind the choir.

William Cawley, who had signed the warrant for the execution of the king, consulted his safety by quitting the kingdom, and retiring to Switzerland; where he remained to the day of his death. His estates, as were those of the regicides in general, were by the parliament, confiscated to the crown. As the alderman, whom he succeeded, gave some valuable fields near the city, on the new Broile, for the support of the alms-house he had founded, it is probable that he had others there, which he left to his successor. However that may be, the valuable estate of Broadlees, and other lands, in the parish of Rumbold's Whyke, to a considerable amount,* certainly belonged to him, and after the passing the
act

* Besides that of Broadlees near Whyke, he had two others of considerable value in the parish of Sidlesham, namely the church

act of attainder, were given by the king to his brother James, duke of York, who in 1663 sold the same to lord William Brounker, for the sum of two thousand and one hundred pounds. From him the estate passed to his brother, the honourable Henry Brounker; who bequeathed the same to sir Charles Littleton, by his will, dated the 7th of July, 1687.*

Some of the Cawley family were alive at the time of the Revolution; for it appears (according to the letters of indenture passed between William Cawley and Elizabeth his wife, of Chichester, and sir Charles Littleton, in June 1689) that in consideration of four hundred pounds, the said Cawley and his wife, did grant unto the said sir Charles, all the said manors, messuages, &c. to him, and his heirs for ever. At the Revolution, king William had it in contemplation to recall general Ludlow from the place of his exile, to England, in order to have sent him to Ireland, to suppress the rebellion there.

When

church-farm there, now belonging to, and in the possession of Mr. Joseph Freeland—and the farm called Hām-farm. One of the lanes in the former is called Cawley's lane to this day.

* 159 acres, as appears from the copy of the grant from the crown.

When this circumstance became known in England, it created no small uneasiness and alarm in the minds of the holders of the forfeited estates of the regicides, lest they should be reclaimed, and wrested from them by the new parliament. It was upon this footing, no doubt, that sir Charles thought it most prudent to secure his property at a small comparative sacrifice.

Towards the end of the year 1660, the parliament ordered the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Pride, and Bradshaw, to be dug out of their graves, and dragged through the streets to Tyburn, where, for a whole day, they were suspended on the gallows, and afterwards buried under it. This was done by the authority of parliament, or convention : but it is not hard to conjecture at whose instigation. All revenge is mean ; but that exercised against the dead is more particularly so : to have suffered each to remain in its dormitory, would have showed more greatness of mind. But greatness of mind was not the characteristic either of Charles or of his court ; which last was the center of vice, and the very sink of lewdness and profligacy ; from thence the contagion flowed like a pestilence, and few there were in proportion

portion who escaped its malignant influence. The nation was kept in an almost constant state of war, principally against the Dutch; directly contrary to the sense of the most enlightened part of the people. The supplies granted by parliament to carry on these ruinous wars, the king often found means to divert to other purposes. On every renewal of hostilities, the sycophants of the court laid the whole blame on the Dutch: and, though the reverse was evidently the truth, the people were weak enough to believe them. As the commons house of parliament, in the latter years of this reign, was not so obsequious to the king's pleasure as he wished it to be, several dissolutions took place in the course of a few years. At every fresh election, the court exerted all its influence to have such members returned as would be more propitious to its views: but very rarely succeeded in procuring a majority fully to their mind, of men that would go through thick and thin; because in almost all the boroughs the Presbyterian interest prevailed, and that interest was uniformly inimical to the corruptions of the court. In order to obviate this sore evil, the king contrived a plan to make himself master of all the corporations in

England, and reign absolute and without control. This plan was no other than seizing the charters of all the corporations in the kingdom, and obliging them to hold them under him, and only *durante bene placito*. He began with the most powerful, the city of London, by issuing from the court of king's bench, a writ of *quo warranto* against the corporation. As the judges were wholly at the king's beck (generally the case in despotic governments,) judgment was given against them: and it was decided that the corporation had forfeited its charters. The judgment, however, was not recorded till the king's pleasure should be known; and in the mean time it was agreed, in common-council, to submit to the king's pleasure; and a petition to that effect was presented to the throne: in consequence of this, which no doubt was the issue he wished to bring the matter to, Charles agreed to restore the charters to the city, on condition that if he, or his successors, at any future time, should disapprove of their choice of a mayor, sheriff, &c. they should proceed to a new election; that no mayor, or other officer of the corporation, should exercise his office till his election should be confirmed by the king, &c. that the justices of the

peace

peace in London should act only by virtue of his (the king's) commission; and other conditions, equally severe; to which they were forced to submit. The other corporations in the kingdom, (and among these Chichester) seeing the fate of the metropolis, surrendered their respective charters into the king's hand; to have them restored to them on the same conditions as those of London were. However they were not restored to them till near the end of the reign of James II. and then in a mutilated condition; and curtailed of those plenary powers which the former charters contained. The date of several of them is prior to that time; but either we must impugn the general voice of history, or say that they were not returned till the prince of Orange had prepared to land in England, and misdated for very obvious reasons.

In the year 1687, or early in 1688, the king published a declaration granting liberty of conscience, and abolishing the penal laws against dissenters of every denomination; at the same time ordering the declaration to be read publicly in all churches of the kingdom. As arch-bishop Sancroft of Canterbury—doctors Lake, bishop of Chichester—Lloyd, of saint

Asaph—Ken, of Bath and Wells—Turner, of Ely—White, of Peterborough—and Trelawney, of Bristol, thought that they could not obey the orders of the king without betraying the duty they owed to God and their country, they therefore agreed to petition his majesty in all meekness and humility—praying that he would be graciously pleased to pardon their non-compliance with a measure which they could by no means reconcile to their conscience, and repugnant to duties of a still higher obligation. On the 18th day of May, 1688, these worthy prelates went in a body to the king's palace, and with great humility presented their petition to their sovereign; who far from listening to them, ordered them to be prosecuted in the most rigorous manner. Being brought before the council, they were asked if they would give bail to appear in the court of King's Bench, and answer the charge to be brought against them, of endeavouring to diminish the just prerogative of the crown, &c. this they refused to do, alledging, with truth, that they could not without sacrificing, what by their oath they were bound to maintain, their privilege as peers of the realm. The chancellor threatened to commit them to the tower, unless they retracted

retracted their assertions, and withdrew the petition. To this menace they replied that they were ready to go wherever the king pleased to send them: that while they were in the discharge of their duty, they relied upon the protection of the king of kings, and could not be shaken from their resolution by any threats. An order of commitment was immediately issued from the privy-council, and the Attorney-general commanded to prosecute them for sedition and contumacy.—On the 29th day of June their trial came on in Westminster-hall; and on the 30th, the jury gave in their verdict of acquittal, to the great joy of the nation in general.

That these venerable and most respectable prelates, in their opposition to the measures of his majesty, were not actuated by contumacy, or disloyalty to his person, fully appeared in their future conduct. Of the seven, only two of them (Lloyd, of saint Asaph, and sir Jonathan Trelawney, bart. of Bristol) chose to conform to the government under the prince of Orange; but maintained their fidelity to the prince to whom they had sworn allegiance. The king himself (James) though he caused them to be indicted for presenting to him a seditious libel,

(for such Jeffries, the chancellor, called the petition which the bishops presented to him) was fully satisfied of their attachment to his person: for in the succeeding October, he sent for the arch-bishop, the bishops of Chichester, Peterborough, Ely, Bath and Wells, to his palace, in the extremity of his distress, and desired them to consult together a few hours, and lay before him the result of their deliberations, what was most proper to be done by him in the present extremity of his affairs. The counsel which they gave their sovereign, evinces the soundness of their judgment, the integrity of their hearts, and their inviolable loyalty to his person and government. They advised him to revoke immediately every dispensation he had passed in favour of Roman catholics; to restore the laws to their constitutional course; to call a free and unbiassed parliament; to issue a proclamation to assure the people that if they would overlook some irregularities that were past, he would reign, for the future, according to law; that he would protect and encourage the Protestant religion; that, being now fully convinced that the Romish system was disagreeable to the people, he would not directly or indirectly, encourage it, nor tolerate it, but in his own family, as an individual.

Had

Had this salutary and faithful counsel been taken, and steadily adhered to, even at that late and critical period, it might have saved the unhappy monarch all the future distresses of his life; and the nation the miseries inseparable from a disputed succession to the throne. Though in a political view, it was the duty of doctor Lake, and the other non-conforming prelates, to have submitted to the government of that prince, whom the convention, and the nation in general had chosen to fill the vacant throne, yet, as they evidently acted on conscientious motives, they are entitled not only to the forgiveness but the esteem of posterity. He (doctor Lake) died in 1689, advanced in age; and doctor Simon Patrick, who was hampered with no such scruples, was raised to the see the same year, and translated to Ely in 1691.*

* Doctor Lake, as said, did not conform—doctor William Sancroft, arch-bishop of Canterbury, was deprived 1690 for non-conformity,, and died in 1693—bishop Ken was deprived the same year—so were bishop Turner and bishop White, in the above-mentioned year—bishop Lloyd conformed, and was translated in 1692 to Lichfield and Coventry—Jonathan Trelawney, bart. s. t. p. conformed, and was translated 1689 to Exeter.

 CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF AGRICULTURE—SERVICEABLE TO
 CHICHESTER—RAISING CORN AND REARING CATTLE—
 COMPARISON BETWEEN.—THE ELM TREES WITHIN THE
 WALLS—WHEN PLANTED.—BISHOP'S PALACE REBUILT.—
 DOMESTIC BUILDING—WHEN IT BEGAN TO BE IMPROVED
 —OF THE CROSS—ASSEMBLY-ROOM.—PARISHES INCOR-
 PORATED.—MR. JOHN HARDHAM'S LEGACY TO THE CITY
 —NUMBER OF THE POOR—AND EXPENCE.—THE LATE ACT
 FOR NEW PAVING THE STREETS.

VERY soon after the Revolution, an act of parliament was passed for granting a bounty of five shillings per quarter on all wheat exported out of the kingdom, when the price thereof was under forty-eight shillings, or twelve pounds a load, of forty bushels. This statute has, in the event, been of singular benefit to the kingdom in general; and in a particular manner to Chichester, as it has contributed perhaps more than any other cause, to raise it from a condition of great mediocrity, to its present wealth
 and

and splendor. Before, and at that time, the agriculture of the nation was at a very low ebb. Amidst the din and horror of civil war, the rage of contending systems of religion, the legislature had hitherto paid no adequate attention to that great national concern. The peasantry were poor and disregarded, their degree of knowledge was very small. They plodded on in their business in the same undeviating beaten tract, as their fathers had done for many preceeding generations. For a farmer to have attempted to make any improvement, or any change in his mode of cultivation, would have subjected him to the suspicion of being deranged in his intellects. But had the case been otherwise in this point, had their knowledge been ever so great, and their minds ever so enlightened, they had not the means of improvement in their power: they were in general very much cramped in their circumstances. During this state of things, an untoward season was followed with a scarcity; and two or three unproductive seasons occasioned a famine; and that sometimes was followed by a plague.—As Chichester is not, and never was, to any great degree, a manufacturing town, or of extensive trade, it is evident it must
depend

depend for its prosperity on the country around it. It was some time before this wholesome law operated even among the farmers, so as to produce any visible change for the better: and still longer ere these effects circulated to the market-towns with which they were connected. Its first effect was, that it secured to the cultivator of the land a certain market for his grain, and this security, in time, encouraged him to plough and sow with confidence—and in the issue enabled him, by the increase of his stock, to increase the produce of his lands. It is no extravagant conjecture to suppose that there is at this present time, thrice the quantity of grain produced in this neighbourhood as there was an hundred years ago. And yet I doubt not but the farmer of those days imagined that the practice of agriculture was arrived at the summit of perfection; and most probably with equal reason as many of the present day entertain a like opinion of the present time: for if that were the case all the laudable institutions that are formed, and the societies that are established, for the improvement of the science, would be in vain, and must terminate in disappointment; which we know has not hitherto been the case, and probably never

never will: for though there be in nature a degree of perfection beyond which human sagacity cannot go, yet it is a point to which men will never fully attain. Many gentlemen and noblemen have of late commenced extensive farmers, or rather agriculturists, but it is not hitherto apparent that that practice has conduced, or is likely to conduce, to the good of the public—the production of an increased quantity of the necessaries of life. If we allow, as we ought, that they are more likely to make experiments than the regular farmer; on the other hand, it has been observed that their speculations have been directed to grazing, and the rearing of cattle, &c. rather than the raising of grain, the public utility of their exertions may justly be doubted; as it is a fact, that the produce of one acre of wheat will go as far in supporting the life of man as twelve acres laid out in rearing and feeding of cattle or sheep.*

Before the late unhappy war against the republic of France, the farmers in England held that station in society which best comported with their own and the public welfare. They were not restrained by the

* Vide Mackie's Statements, published 1798.

the narrowness of their circumstances from making any improvements. Far removed from poverty, and in general, not tumid with riches, they were respectable and respected yeomen, and did not aspire to the rank of gentlemen.

In the year 1701, the elm-trees within the North and East-walls were planted in the mayoralty of William Costellow, for the accommodation of the citizens, and the ornament of the city: both which purposes, it is hoped, they will continue to answer for many years to come; though they have not been in a state of advancement for the last thirty years, but rather the reverse.

In the year 1720 happened the iniquitous transaction known in the history of England by the name of the South-sea scheme: a scheme whereby a few worthless men were enriched, and thousands of innocent individuals and their families brought to poverty and distress.

At the beginning of this (the eighteenth) century, the condition and appearance of the dwelling houses in Chichester was not meliorated to any great degree, except a few belonging to the dignitaries of the church, and the most opulent of the gentlemen

gentlemen of the corporation, and a very few independent gentlemen who resided here. Many of those in the lanes, and almost every one in the saint Pancrass, were thatched. At this present time only one dwelling-house there, retains that dangerous mode. The streets were paved, it is true, but it was in a very indifferent manner: in some places bowlers were used, in others small pitchers; some parts were high and some low, and throughout the whole no uniformity was observed. In every direction the approach to the city, that is, the road just without the gate, was dreadfully bad; and particularly those without the South and West-gates were, what would now be reckoned impassable.

At the time now under consideration, and for many years before, a very considerable traffic was carried on here in malt, made in the city, and exported to Ireland, and other parts, to the amount of several thousand quarters annually, (See page 329.) The number of malting-houses in the city was very great, perhaps ten times as many as they are now, when the demand for Chichester malt is confined almost solely to the city and its vicinity. This gainful traffic was lost to the city by the avarice of the
 . manufacturers.

manufacturers. It is a difficult matter to establish the credit and reputation of any particular article of use or consumption; and almost equally difficult, after it is fully established, to lose it—but though difficult it is not impossible. The malters, instead of wetting only prime barley, in order to supply the market with a good commodity, used inferior grain, bought in the country around at low prices, and charged their dealers the highest. The reputation of the place supported the trade for several years; but prejudice cannot always bear up and maintain its ground against reason and interest.

About two centuries ago, Chichester nearly, if not wholly, monopolised the trade of England in needle-making. The business was carried on principally in the parish of saint Pancrass, without the East-gate: almost every house in which, before the time of the civil wars, was occupied by a needle-maker. This manufactory is now come to an end; (as mentioned before) Mr. Scale, parish-clerk of that parish, who died a few years ago, was the last, and for several years before, the only one of that occupation. When the city was attacked in the year 1643, (as mentioned before,) almost every house
without

without the East-gate, was demolished; and though the houses were afterwards rebuilt, the trade never perfectly recovered. After the Revolution, some manufacturies of this article were established in Birmingham and Sheffield; which, though far inferior to the Chichester needles in quality, yet being sent to market at less than one third of the price, obtained a sale on that score alone. It is some credit to this manufactory that it maintained its reputation of superiority to the very last. It sank under the cause just mentioned, and the comparative expence of living, in an unequal contest, with its northern rivals.

After the Restoration, the bishop's palace was repaired, and rebuilt where rebuilding was necessary; not in a splendid style, but such as answered the wishes, and suited the moderation of the worthy prelate. In this condition nearly, with several repairs, it continued till the time of doctor Edward Waddington, who was installed into the see the 7th of November, 1724. In 1725 the old fabric was wholly taken down, and a new palace erected on a more extensive scale, and more elegant design. In digging for the foundation several Roman coins were found

found by the workmen, together with a Roman pavement: by which it appears that the mansion of the prætor, or Roman governor, had stood on that individual spot. And it is not too much to suppose that the South-Saxon kings resided there too; tho' there be not, as far as I know, any monuments in proof of that conjecture. It is averred that they resided at Kingsham, which is now a farm-house near the city. The name which the place still bears, to which we may add, the cold-bath there, which is entirely paved with the small Roman bricks, make this very probable: but may we not suppose that the South-Saxon kings had more places of residence than one? Kingsham might be their country-retreat, the Kew or Windsor of these plain men, and the other the place where they kept their court. At the same time, that is, in the year 1725 or 1726, the gardens belonging to the bishop, were modelled anew, and laid out in a plan of great beauty and elegance; in which condition they remained till the time of the present bishop: whether they are improved by the late changes made in them, I reckon not myself competent to determine. It is enough that they were made by his lordship's direction, and to his satisfaction.

We may begin to date the time when the dwelling-houses in Chichester began to amend, about the year 1730. The deanry-house was built about the year 1736 ; the distance is remarkably well chosen, but the eye is hurt in viewing the immense dead wall that terminates the front above. The house of John Williams, esquire, in the West-street, was built by Mr. Park, the residentiary—if the prospect had been farther withdrawn, the view would have shown to more advantage—notwithstanding which, as a residence, it is not inferior to any in the city, or neighbourhood. Every house that was built anew, or underwent a thorough repair, from that date (and in some instances some years sooner) was constructed upon a more modern and a better plan, more convenient and of better appearance than before. The mode of constructing the walls of part timber and part bricks was discontinued, and the latter only used. The fronts of the houses were raised perpendicularly, and not projecting every story, as heretofore. It is said that some time back the North-street was in a line (or nearly so) with the South-street: and the present condition of many of the houses in the former (especially those near the cross) makes it very pro-

bable that this was the case, at some period considerably distant. We can only say that if the cross was ever so situated, it is matter of regret it was ever suffered to be shoved from a position so advantageous. There is a certain degree of excellence in all the fine arts which is sure to please the eye or ear of every one; and in treating of the cross of Chichester, I may be permitted to record the judgment of all who ever viewed it with attention, that a more perfect, and I may add, a more fascinating specimen of architecture is no where to be found. The tablets of inscription, and the vanes on the pinnacles must be excepted from this eulogium.* The former on account of the information they give may be excused; but

* The following inscription is on the west-side of the cross:
 "This beautiful cross erected by Edward Story, bishop of Chichester; who was advanced to that dignity by Edward IV. 1478.
 "Was first repaired in the reign of Charles II. and now again in
 "the twentieth year of our present sovereign George II. 1746,
 "Thomas Wall, mayor, at the sole expence of Charles, duke of
 "Richmond, Lenox and Aubigny."

The other inscription is—"Dame Elizabeth Farrington, relict of sir Richard Farrington, baronet, gave this clock, as an HOURLY memento of her good will to this city, 1724.
 "George Harris, mayor."

In the former inscription it is to be remarked that the date (1478) is not the year in which the cross was erected, but the time

but the others have no pretence to be admitted: I am confident that they were no part of the cross originally,* but added afterwards by some one destitute of true taste.—The cross of Coventry is an object of greater magnitude, and may please some more on that account; but size is not essential to beauty, in that respect the cupola of saint Stephen's in Walbrook, is not inferior to that of saint Paul's. In justness of design, symmetry of parts, and happiness of execution, the beautiful cross of Chichester will be allowed by the best judges to yield to none in the kingdom.

In 1733 the council-chamber in the North-street was built by subscription, to which the duke of Somerset, then high-steward of the city, gave one hundred guineas. It is raised on arcades. The ornamental part of the building is intended to be, and I believe, in part is, in the Ionic order. Adjoining

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to

time when he (bishop Story) was advanced to the see of Chichester. As Charles duke of Richmond, Lenox, and Aubigny, was at the sole expence of repairing it, the name of the mayor, Thomas Wall, might have been left out without any impropriety.

* The lanthorn too I am persuaded is of modern date; it is too high for its diameter, and does not harmonize with the cross on which it stands.

to, and connected with the council-chamber, is the assembly-room; which likewise was built by subscription, about the year 1781 or 1782—and is an elegant, spacious, well-pitched room.* The assembly is held every fortnight during the winter season; and is honoured by the presence of persons of the first rank.†

In the year 1753 an act of parliament passed for uniting the eight parishes of the city, and the precinct, called the Close, for the purpose of maintaining the poor of the same, under the direction of thirty guardians, chosen annually for that purpose by the inhabitants of the several parishes, and the Close: the high-steward, the mayor, recorder, and justices of the peace, are perpetual guardians—but hardly ever act, nor attend the meetings, but leave the sole management to the thirty elected guardians, who meet at the poor-house, the first Monday of every month, for the management of the house, and fixing the rates for the support of the poor: in them
also

* The length, including the recess, 59 feet—breadth 32 feet 6 inches—height 23 feet 8 inches.

† In it the concerts are also held—and the band assisted by an organ lately erected by John Marsh, esquire.

also is vested the care and direction of the lamps for lighting the city. It is unnecessary to inform the reader, that after they are regularly sworn into their office they are a corporate body, and qualified to sue or be sued in the courts of law.

By the statute of incorporation it is ordained that after the 25th day of June, 1753, the house without the North-gate, called Cawley's alms-house, be appropriated and become the poor-house or work-house, of the united parishes, and be settled and vested in the corporation of guardians for ever, with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging : and also, that the two fields adjoining to the road leading from Dell-hole to the Broile, be for ever vested in the mayor and corporation, in trust, to pay the whole of the rents and profits arising from them into the hands of the guardians, for the support and maintenance of the poor. And they are likewise, by the statute, authorised to raise money for the benefit of the poor by the mortgage or sale of the said fields; in virtue of which they were disposed of A. D. 1782, in order to raise money to build the new city gaol at the East-gate.

The mayor and citizens of 1753 have been censured not only for betraying the trust reposed in them by the will of Mr. alderman Cawley, and turning his charity into a channel very different from what he intended and appointed; but also for petitioning parliament to sanction and confirm the injustice. That the will of Cawley ought to have been fulfilled will readily be acknowledged; but no blame will attach to the memory of the mayor, &c. of 1753, for violating it. To clear this point it will be necessary to take a short retrospective view of the whole affair.

In 1625, Mr. alderman Cawley, father (or perhaps uncle) of Cawley the regicide, founded an alms-house, for the residence and maintenance of twelve decayed tradesmen of Chichester, and appointed the mayor and corporation for the time being, his trustees and depositaries of his charity for ever. During the time of the civil war in England it is not probable that the intention of the will was, or could be regularly fulfilled. From the year 1648 to 1660, it is reasonable to suppose it had its due accomplishment; but not long after, if at all after the Restoration. Some of the retainers of the
court

court endeavoured to confound the subject of this charity with the estate of the regicide which was forfeited to the crown ; and though they did not succeed, they prevented it from returning to its due channel. To what use the alms-house was put, or how the rents and issues of the fields were applied after that time for many years, does not appear : it is most likely that it was towards lodging and maintaining the poor of the city in general ; for we find the mayor (Henry Peckham) and citizens, by indenture dated 21st of September, 1681, conveying the said alms-house, to be employed as a work-house for the poor, and letting it on lease, on conditions therein specified, to trustees mentioned, in order to establish a manufactory to set the poor to work, &c. To suppose that at any part of the time the magistrates of the city, a corporate body, consisting of many individuals, conspired together and united in order to embezzle the charitable foundation, would evince as much weakness as malignity. And as to the transactions of 1753, it is hard to conceive in what manner the magistrates could have acted with propriety otherwise than they did.

In the year 1772 died Mr. John Hardham, tobaccoist, in Fleet-street, London, a native of Chichester; who, by his will, dated the 6th day of February, in the same year, left to the guardians of the poor the interest of all his estate, (except a few legacies to no great amount) “to ease the inhabitants of the said city (as it is expressed in the will) “in their poor-rates for ever, and that part of the “Pancrass that belongs to the said city.” This valuable legacy was subject to the life of Mary Binmore, his house-keeper, to whom it was left during her natural life, on certain conditions: so that the inhabitants did not come to the possession of it till the year 1786, to the amount of 653*l.* per annum.—Every man who has acquired property in his life time has no doubt a legal right to dispose of it as he thinks proper, after his decease, and the world has a right to judge of the propriety or impropriety of that disposal. The daughters of Mr. Woodroff Drinkwater of Chichester, were very nearly related to Mr. Hardham: they were persons of unexceptionable characters: they fully depended to have come in for the bulk of his fortune after his death; and it was then asserted that he had promised one of them to
leave

leave her independent on the world. Towards the end of the will he says—" I thought it best to leave
 " it as I have done; for now it will be a benefit to
 " the said city for ever—if I had disposed of it in
 " legacies, in a few years the whole would have been
 " annihilated, and come to nothing."——The man who is blessed with abundance, has a right to enjoy his good fortune as far as reason will permit, as long as he lives ; but after he quits this scene the property which did belong to him is no longer his, but devolves, in equity, to his nearest relations, except in very particular cases.

Before the war, which began A. D. 1793, the average number of the poor of the united parishes, was from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty ; but ere the close of it the number rose to from two hundred and thirty to two hundred and fifty of in-door paupers, besides out-door pensioners; the number of whom increased in a greater proportion from many causes, principally from the weekly allowances granted by act of parliament to the wives and families of militia-men. The annual expence of the work-house, from the 26th of April, 1802, to the 18th of April, 1803, according to the general
 statement

statement delivered to the inhabitants was 2558*l.* 13*s.* including Hardham's annuity. But it is to be observed that this was a time of peace. Some years before the yearly disbursements were considerably higher.

In the year 1791, an act of parliament passed “ for repealing an act made in the 18th year of queen Elizabeth, entitled an act for paving of the city of Chichester; and for the better paving, repairing and cleansing the streets, lanes, and public ways and passages, within the walls of the said city, and for removing and preventing incroachments, obstructions, and annoyances therein:” the execution of which was vested in commissioners named therein; inhabitants of the city, who were possessed of the yearly value of twenty pounds, in buildings or land, within the walls of the city of Chichester: who were authorized to make and levy rates or assessments on the owners of houses or lands, within the same, of not more than nine-pence in the pound, rack rent; and to borrow money (not more than five thousand pounds) on the security of the said assessments, towards carrying into execution the purposes of the act. The plan of the new paving is different

different from the former ; in which the gutter or kennel, was in the middle of the street ; now it is on the sides, and the street raised in the middle and rounding towards the foot-path. They (the commissioners) were enabled to remove all sign-posts, water-spouts, gutters, sheds, and every encroachment or annoyance whatever ; by the due and full execution of which they have added to the elegance and salubrity of the city. It was in contemplation, three or four years before it was done, to have repaired the streets under the direction of the mayor and corporation ; but as a jealousy prevailed in the minds of the inhabitants, that the main design of the intended act was to obtain an increase of power and influence for the corporation, injurious to the rights of the other inhabitants, the plan was therefore opposed, and the measure relinquished, or rather put off for the present : and when revived in 1790, the offensive clause was altered, and the direction and execution of the act committed to commissioners ; who, it is but justice to say, have discharged the trust reposed in them with credit to themselves, and advantage to the city ; which was always esteemed an healthy place, and must be more so now, as the
 air

air circulates as freely in every part of it as in the open fields, and almost as pure; as every nuisance is removed from thence, and every impurity, the parent and nurse of disease—a truth which cannot be too often, nor too strongly, impressed upon men in society.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE CITY—THE FOUR GATES—
 WHEN TAKEN DOWN.—OF THE TOWER—BY WHOM BUILT
 —MEASUREMENT OF THE CHURCH—THE CHOIR.—SAINT
 MARTIN'S CHURCH NEW-BUILT—BY WHOM.—THE GUILD-
 HALL.—SCHOOLS IN THE CITY, &c.

THIS part of the subject I have in great measure anticipated: I shall therefore only add a few particulars for the information of strangers. The domestic building in every part of the kingdom, is greatly improved within the last forty or fifty years; but in few places more than in Chichester. The dwelling-houses in the four principal streets, in that part called the Pallant, and the greatest part of those in the Little-London, are above mediocrity. In the North-street in particular, though none of them have any pretence to grandeur, they are large, neat, clean and pleasant. In no part it must be owned, is there uniformity. Every one in building adopts the plan
 which

which he thinks is most convenient for him, and regulates the whole as his circumstances may direct, or his fancy prompt him. If the corporation have a power, by their bye-laws, to prevent this small inconvenience, it is a power which they have with much propriety declined to enforce. As the pavement of the streets, and the spacious foot-path on each side, is kept exceedingly clean; and no dirt or nuisance of any kind suffered to remain there but the least time possible; it is plain that this care must contribute greatly to preserve the health of the inhabitants, at the same time it gives to the houses a better and more comfortable appearance. And it may be averred, without fear of contradiction, that there is no town in England, great or little, that is kept cleaner than this: to which end its situation is favourable, as it stands on a gentle eminence, the highest part of which is at or near the cross, or center of the city. It was mentioned before, that Chichester enjoys the advantage of plenty of most excellent water; an advantage which cannot easily be prized too high: the river Lavant forms here a semicircle, and encompasses the walls on part of the east-side, all the south-side, and part of the west.—

The

The wall which surrounds the city, and the bastions, (except one mentioned before of later date) appear evidently to have been built by the Romans. In the year 1803, some coins were found among the rubbish dug from under the North-walls, inscribed *deæ faustinæ*, the goddess of good-fortune—expressing a wish for the future prosperity of the place; and it is known that it was customary with that people to throw such pieces, together with their latest coins, into the foundation of their public works in general. The mortar was become as hard as a rock, so that it would hardly yield to the workmen's pickaxes.—About the year 1772 or 1773, three gates (the North, West and South) were taken down, in order both to enlarge the prospect, and give a freer circulation to the air. The East-gate, because it supported the city-gaol, was not taken down till the year 1783, at which time the gaol was new built, on the south-side of the place where the gate had been. If the houses in the triangle opposite to, and without the former East-gate were taken down, and the ground raised higher, it would add greatly both to the beauty and convenience of that entrance to the city, on a quarter where it is most defective, or
rather

rather less compleat. Mr. Bull, about forty years ago, by a writ of "*ad quod damnum*," shut up the public road leading from the East-street, (by Baffin's lane) to the South-wall, and from thence going on to the South-gate.

I mentioned before that the present church of Chichester was built by Seffrid II. the seventh bishop thereof, finished and consecrated by him A. D. 1199. Walter of Coventry, one of the most renowned architects in England, it is most probable, had the superintendence and direction of the whole undertaking.* That the stone was brought from Normandy will hardly be questioned, by any who have seen the other churches, which are confessedly built from the same

* According to Mr. Clarke's conjecture—"the spire of the church of Chichester was built by the same workmen that built "Salisbury spire." This is by no means probable, to say the least of it—the former was finished A. D. 1199, perhaps sooner, and that of Salisbury almost sixty years later, in the year 1256. In the following pages the reader will find the copy of a MS. written by the late Mr. William Clarke, residentiary of Chichester, about the year 1750, at the desire of bishop Mawson, entitled "The Antiquities of Chichester Cathedral,"—to which I have subjoined my reasons for dissenting from his opinion in several particulars. Mr. C. was a person of great erudition, an indefatigable investigator of antiquity—and therefore, with this just eulogium,

same quarry.* We need only view the adjoining tower, built of Portland stone, to be convinced that the materials of the church were not brought from thence. According to the tradition, the great bell tower, which contains a ring of eight musical bells, was built by R. Riman, of Appledram, where he had an estate; and where he intended to have built him a castle to reside in; but was inhibited by the king, (Edward III.) and that therefore, with the stones which he had provided, he builded the tower. Some part of this tradition, it is most likely, is true; but it is most probable that the stones were purchased of him by bishop Langton, and that it was he and not Riman that built the said tower. He was a person of great wealth and of equal munificence; and is known to have been a great benefactor to the church, over which he presided more than thirty

c c

years.

eulogium, I have thought it fair to lay his researches and opinion on this subject before my readers, that they may judge for themselves—assuring them, that what I have written on this head I have extracted with all the care that I could from Le Neve's Fasti, Camden's Britannia, Dugdale's Monasticon, &c.

* The metropolitan church of Canterbury, &c. was built about 1089.

years. In the table of inscription, erected to his memory in the church, there is indeed no mention made of this circumstance ; which may easily be accounted for by supposing (as was most probably the case) that the charge of the structure was defrayed partly by him, and principally from the public funds belonging to the church.

The church, from its first erection to the present time, has undergone many repairs, the dates and other particulars of which cannot now be ascertained. The last was in the year 1791, when Mr. Metcalfe, canon-residentary, was commoner, under whose direction between eleven and twelve thousand pounds were laid out for that purpose ; and double that sum, and more, if their funds would have admitted of it, might have been applied to the same purpose with much advantage.

Measurement of the Church.

	<i>Feet.</i>	<i>Inches.</i>
Length of the church within, exclusive of the pediment.....	310	8
Breadth ditto, west-end.....	90	7
Ditto.....east-end.....	62	6
Length of transept, including the Subdeanry..	130	6
The intercolumniations,.....	10	9
The length of the choir.....	99	0
		The

	<i>Feet.</i>	<i>Inches.</i>
The breadth of the same.....	36	6
The length of the pediment without.....	65	0
The breadth of the same.....	26	6
The length of the Subdeanry from east to west..	64	3
The height of the spire:.....	297	0
The height of the bell-tower.....	120	0

In the year 1720 or 1721, the spire was struck by lightning; when several large stones were precipitated from it with extreme violence; particularly one of about three-quarters of an hundred weight, was driven on the houses on the north-side of the West-street, and fell on the premises now Mr. Munn's, attorney, without doing any damage. It was feared the whole spire would have fallen; the probable consequence of which would have been the demolition of the greatest part of the church: but on being surveyed, it was found that though a considerable breach was made in the spire about forty feet from the top; yet the other parts were firm and uninjured. It was therefore soon after repaired in a manner so compleat that the place cannot now be distinguished.*

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The

* This stone is said to have been of a ton weight. A very improbable story! A stone of that size was not wanted at almost the

The choir is exceedingly neat, having, not many years ago, been repaired and beautified at a considerable expence. In the east-end of the church (that is, the part which forms the pediment) is an elegant library, containing a considerable collection of valuable books; originally this was a chapel, dedicated to saint Michael: it appears not to have been built at the same time as the other part of the edifice, but to have been added to it about the time of Edward I. and perhaps later. Under the library is a spacious vault, belonging to the ducal family of Richmond; to the north of which, and adjoining, is the dormitory of the family of Miller, late of Lavant, baronets. On the south-side of the library is the elegant monument of doctor Edward Waddington, who filled the episcopal chair of Chichester from the year 1724 to 1731: a man, whose life (according to the character he has left behind him) was so blameless, and his manners so engaging; whose integrity was so exemplary, and his piety so sincere, that too much cannot be said in his praise.

There

the top of a spire—nor could it have been raised thither—and if it could the lightning that could have tossed such a weight almost an hundred and twenty yards must have laid the whole spire in the dust!

There are six parish-churches within the walls, (besides that of saint Pancrass without the east-gate, and the place where that of saint Bartholomew once stood, which is now only a burying ground) namely that of saint Peter the great, alias the Subdeanry (within the cathedral) saint Peter the less, saint Olave's, saint Andrew's, All Saints, and saint Martin's. Which last, in 1802 and 1803 was repaired, and it may be said new built, at an expence of not less than seventeen hundred pounds, by the pious munificence of Mrs. Dear—a lady equally studious to shun as she is to deserve praise; for which reason, that I may not give real offence, I shall only farther add, on this head, that the architect (Mr. Brookes) is entitled to just commendation for raising the fabric solid and strong; though not heavy, the very view carries in it the idea of strength and durability; at the same time that the *manner* is no despicable imitation of the Gothic style, the style best suited to sacred architecture.

The guildhall is an antient, spacious structure, by no means magnificent. It was formerly the chapel of the convent of Grey friars. In digging lately close by the hustings, in order to erect galleries for the

grand and petit-juries, they found the remains of some of the brothers, who had been deposited there near the altar : but as only the solid bones remained, it could not be ascertained, nor any probable conjecture formed from thence, how long they had lain there.

MERCY, the most endearing attribute of the Deity, is the most amiable quality in man. The stern features of justice, unsoftened by clemency, present a countenance too hard to be viewed without disgust. Humanity forms the most prominent, and the most amiable trait of the national character ; and therefore the makers of our laws, in the formation of the penal code, supposed this national bias to operate in full force, to influence the bench, to warm the breast, and sway the verdict of every juryman. Where this counterpoise is removed (if any where) or by any means ceases to operate, the intention of the legislature is balked, and the boast of an Englishman, trial by jury, rendered a delusive shadow ! The humanity of the present Recorder of Chichester, Mr. Steele, which, together with his discriminating knowledge, has procured him the esteem and veneration of his cotemporaries, will embalm
his

his memory to posterity when the tribute of approbation and praise, contained in these pages, is perished.

In the West-street is the grammar-school, founded by bishop Story, A. D. 1497, for the education of the sons of the freemen of the city, endowed with the prebend of Highley, (in the gift of the dean and chapter) under which are held the great and some of the small tithes of the parish of Siddlesham, &c. The Latinity of the learned had declined in purity for a considerable time—and therefore the good bishop did what he could to restore that purity: besides which consideration, though learning was not at that time altogether confined to the professions, it was far from being so diffused as he wished it to be. In the same year, 1497, the great Erasmus came into England (as said before) with intention to have introduced the knowledge of the Greek language here. Whether the worthy prelate was personally known to Erasmus, and the other great names which at that time illuminated this horizon, I cannot say; certain it is that he exerted himself, if not in conjunction with them, at least in the same laudable undertaking—the promotion of useful learning.

In the West-street is likewise the free-school, founded A. D. 1702, by Oliver Whitby, *with a particular regard to navigation*, endowed with lands to maintain a master and twelve boys, that is, four from Chichester, four from West-Wittering, and the like number from Harting. The boys wear a uniform of blue, lined with yellow, with a cap or bonnet of the same (blue) colour.

There is also a charity school, for cloathing and educating twenty-two poor boys, whose uniform is grey ; and twenty poor girls in blue.

Agreeable to the charter, the mayor is chosen annually, on the Monday before Michaelmas, from among the aldermen and common-council ; but it is to be remarked, that the nomination of the high-steward generally, if not always, determines the election. He (the mayor) has a court of requests, for the recovery of small debts. In his public capacity he is attended by four sergeants at mace, with a crier, &c. Four justices of the peace are likewise chosen from the aldermen.

There are five annual fairs holden in the city and suburbs ; namely on saint George's day, Whit-Monday, saint James's day, Michaelmas fair, old stile,
and

and Sloe fair ten days after. The weekly markets are held on Wednesdays and Saturdays; and are plentifully supplied from the country for several miles round, with various articles of daily consumption. During the season abundance of oysters are brought to the fish-shambles, mostly from Emsworth, which if not superior are certainly not inferior to any England—a great deal larger than the Melton oysters, so much esteemed in London, and not inferior to them, either in flavour or taste. The neighbouring coast supplies the market with plenty of lobsters, crabs, prawns, and several other kinds of fish—Worthing with mackarel—and Arundel with mullet.

Formerly the corn-market was kept on Saturday in the North-street; and sold in kind, and not by sample. But lately, by the change of various circumstances, that way became inconvenient and almost impracticable. And therefore all the wheat, and nearly the whole of the business (of grain) is done by sample, and that principally on the beast-market day instead of Saturday.

The beast-market, holden every second Wednesday throughout the year invariably, for black cattle,

cattle, sheep and hogs, is by much the greatest of any in this or the neighbouring counties, that of London excepted. Not only the city, but the country round for many miles is supplied from thence. To it the Portsmouth butchers regularly resort—and not seldom the carcase butchers from London attend it. It is kept in the East-street, the whole of which is occupied on market-days, and more than half of the North-street. The black cattle pay nothing, and only the coops (for sheep and hogs) pay an acknowledgment of six-pence a coop, to the corporation. At present the full produce of this toll is not less, but rather more than 130*l.* per annum. About ten or eleven years ago the clear amount of the said toll, deducting all attending charges, was very little more than seventy pounds. A sufficient proof of the great increase of the market in a few years.

The general-post comes in every forenoon, except Monday, and goes out every afternoon at four o'clock, except Saturday. The cross-posts to the eastward and westward also go out and come in every day in the week.——The London coach leaves Chichester Monday, Wednesday, and Friday

Fridays mornings, and returns Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays—the fare is now 22s. It puts up at the Bolt-in-ton, Fleet-street, and the Golden Cross, Charing Cross. The Portsmouth coach goes from and returns to Chichester every day. The waggons go three times a week to London, and inn at the Talbot and White-Hart, in the Borough. By these large quantities of wool, the produce of the surrounding country, are sent to London, and from thence conveyed to Yorkshire, and the other wool-manufacturing counties in the north of England.

A dispensary, supported by annual subscription, for the relief of the sick poor, was established in the city A. D. 1784, principally by the reverend Mr. Walker, and doctor Sanden—the former, *the patron of the poor, and the friend of the helpless*—and the latter, a gentleman distinguished no less by his professional abilities, than for his humane attention to the sufferings of his fellow-creatures.

The custom-house is in the West-street, having been removed thither from saint Martin's square, a few years ago by order of the commissioners.

The theatre is at the lower end of the South-street. It was repaired, or rather rebuilt, A. D. 1791,

by

by the late Mr. Andrews of Chichester. The exterior part is not inelegant, within it is roomy and convenient; and will contain fifty or sixty pounds. The same company perform likewise at Portsmouth, Winchester, and Southampton. They are under the management of Mr. Collins; and are not inferior to what are usually found on a country-stage.

There are two banking-houses in the city, both in the East-street. The one (Griffiths, Drew, and Ridge) established in the year 1779; and the other (Francis and John Diggens) a few years later. Each of them stands on the firm foundation of property to a very great amount. From the respectable characters of the gentlemen of both firms, it is not doubted but that in case of a public convulsion, (which may God avert) they would indemnify the holders of their promissory notes with bullion—or real property. And in that light, to those who entertain any fears of such a crisis, the notes of the banks of Chichester are more eligible than those of more pompous firms.

The present chapter consists of the dean and four prebendaries called to residence; and therefore called canons resident. It is said that formerly, the
bishop

the bishop, the dean, the chanter, the chancellor, the treasurer, the two arch-deacons, dignitaries, and the thirty prebendaries, composed the chapter. The service of the choir is performed by four minor canons, called vicars-choral—assisted in the vocal part by four singing-men and six singing-boys of the choir. One of the present residentiaries was raised to that station from among the minor-canons, or vicars-choral. When men of learning, merit, and piety, are patronised and advanced by the great, they (the great) thereby evince, in the most satisfactory manner, their reverence for the established religion of their country, and the welfare of the public; as by an opposite conduct they show their contempt for both !

The city sends two representatives to the house of commons, who are chosen by the inhabitants at large—that is, by those who pay the church and poor-rates. There are about four hundred and fifty electors, besides several honorary freemen, who do not pay scot and lot; whose votes were notwithstanding declared to be valid by a decision in the court of King's Bench, A. D. 1782—in the cause, the late Bryan Edwards vers. Percy Wyndham, whereby
the

the election of the latter for Chichester was confirmed. As to the real state of these matters in the city, it is not necessary to be explicit—the general state of the representation of the boroughs throughout England is well known, and that of Chichester I believe to be in unison with the rest.

To estimate the manners and principles of the people, to appreciate the virtues or vices of the inhabitants, I reckon not to be within the legitimate limits of this undertaking. I might be suspected of partiality, or blamed for illiberal censure. And therefore all that I shall say on the subject is, that with a very extraordinary degree of humanity in compassionating and relieving the distresses of their fellow-creatures, and a generous liberality of sentiment in judging the actions of men—with these two exceptions in their favour, the inhabitants of Chichester stand nearly on a level with their neighbours. They who believe in the influence of climate will readily assent to this representation, and there are not many who will dispute that influence to a certain degree—though few who can fix that degree with precision. However, it is acknowledged that the serenity and mildness of the air generally produces a
correspondent

correspondent mildness of disposition : and we know that where humanity has erected her throne, thither the virtues choose to resort, and fix their residence in her gentle domain.



The limits of the port of Chichester, and the Key-Dues

Belonging to the Corporation.

In the thirty-second year of the reign of king Charles II. a commission was issued by him, to certain persons therein mentioned, “to enquire into “the extent and limits of the port of Chichester, “and the members thereof.” Which commission, and the return of the commissioners, “are in the records of his majesty’s court of exchequer,” in the date of 1680.

By the commission it appears that the port of Chichester is the head, and all the other ports in the county, Arundel, Shoreham, Lewes, (Newhaven) Rye, and Hythe, members thereof.

The return of the commissioners to the barons of the exchequer, says—“We (&c.) do hereby set “down, appoint, and settle the extent, bounds, and “limits of the said port of Chichester to be “from
“the

“ the Hermitage-bridge, (near Emsworth) on the
 “ further confines of Sussex, westward—from thence
 “ down the whole channel or river running south-
 “ ward to the harbour’s mouth, called Hormouth—
 “ from thence in a (supposed) line eastward to Selsea-
 “ bill——thence eastward to Pagham-point, at the
 “ mouth of Undering-harbour—thence to the most
 “ eastern part of the parish of Felpham, in the county
 “ of Sussex aforesaid—so back again to Hormouth,
 “ and so by the river north-east to the key com-
 “ monly known and called by the name of Dell-
 “ key, situated in the parish of Appledram. Together
 “ with all bays, channels, roads, bars, strands, har-
 “ bours, havens, rivers, streams, creeks, and places
 “ within the said limits contained.”

The limits of the quay or key are by the same
 thus determined to be——“ We have assigned, and
 “ by these presents, &c. do appoint, all that open
 “ place or key, commonly known and called by the
 “ name of Dell-key, containing in length on the
 “ south-side of the said key, ninety-two feet or there-
 “ abouts, and on the north-side eighty-six feet or
 “ thereabouts—and in breadth, at the head of the
 “ said key, within twenty-three feet of the utmost
 “ angular

“ angular point, forty-nine feet or thereabouts.
 “ Which said place so assigned and appointed, is in
 “ our judgments and discretions, most convenient
 “ and fit for the uses and services aforesaid, (namely
 “ the landing or discharging—the lading or shipping
 “ of goods, wares, or merchandise.) And we do
 “ hereby prohibit and debar all other places within
 “ the port of Chichester from the benefit of a place,
 “ key, or wharf, &c.”—The return is signed by
 William Costellow, mayor—Robert Tayer, customer
 —Christopher Williams, collector—Charles Osborne,
 surveyor-general—Freeman Howse, comptroller—
 Robert Bradshaw, surveyor at Chichester.

In the year 1685, the mayor, aldermen, and
 citizens, let on lease unto Robert Tayer, all the dues,
 duties, customs, &c. commonly called key-dues, be-
 longing to the corporation of Chichester, for five
 years at 36*l.* per annum. To which lease was annexed
 for his regulation—a schedule of the dues, duties,
 customs, petty customs, measurage and anchorage,
 due and payable to the mayor, aldermen and citizens
 of the city of Chichester, for all goods and merchan-
 dise, and vessels within the port of Chichester afore-
 said, and granted by the indenture aforesaid, viz.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Bacon, a last or thirty fitches.....	1	8
Barrels, to wit, ten barrels.....	1	8
Butter, the last or ten firkins.....	1	8
Bales of cloth, the pack.....	0	6
Barrel-boards, per thousand.....	0	6
Bank-fish, per hundred.....	0	4
Canvas, the pack mayled.....	0	4
Calves' skins, the dozen.....	0	4
Cards for wool, the pack.....	0	4
Cards for playing, the dryvat.....	1	0
Chesse, per hundred weight.....	0	1
Cloth, the piece full length.....	0	1
Cod fish, the burthen, or twenty-one fishes.....	0	1
Glass, the case.....	0	1
Hoops, the hundred dozen.....	0	4
Herrings white, the last or ten barrels.....	0	10
Herrings red, the card or barrel.....	0	1
Hops, the bag or poke.....	0	2
Iron wrought, the tun.....	0	2
Iron cast, the tun.....	0	3
Lead, the fother or tun weight.....	0	4
Leather hides, the dicker or ten hides.....	0	5
Metal, brass, pewter and copper, the hundred weight	0	1
Mackarel, the thousand.....	0	4
Oil, the hogshead.....	0	2
Oil, the barrel.....	0	1
Oade, the ton.....	0	4
Oysters, every boat.....	0	2
Mill-stones, the pair.....	0	1
Quern-stones, the pair.....	0	4
Tomb-stones, the pair.....	0	2
Grind-stones, the pair.....	0	6
Purbec-stones, the tun.....	0	4
Shovels, the hundred.....	0	5

Timber

	S.	D.
Timber or plank, the load.....	0	2
Tar, the barrel.....	0	0½
Wine, the tun.....	0	4
Wood, the cord or one hundred billets.....	0	2
Vinegar or Verjuice, the tun.....	0	4
Trenchers, the pack.....	0	1
Deal-boards, the hundred.....	0	4
Sea-coal, the chaldron.....	0	4
All other merchandise not herein mentioned, the tun	0	4
For anchorage of every vessel coming in or going out of the said port.....	0	4
Malt twenty quarters {		
Freemen	0	8
Foreigners	1	6
Wheat, barley, salt, or any other grain {		
per quarter.....	0	0½
	0	1

All which dues, duties, customs, petty customs, measurage and anchorage, have from time immemorial been duly, and *until lately*, (saith my record) regularly paid.

By which it would appear that at *some time* these dues had not been regularly paid, but when that was we are not informed.

In the history of Lewes there is an account (taken from the patent or court-rolls) of the dues or customs payable on goods coming to the said town for sale ; by which it appears that the duties there, even at that early date (the 8th of Edward III. A. D. 1334) were very little, if any thing, lower than

those in the preceeding schedule. A bale of cloth, brought in a cart, paid two-pence,—every cask (doliō) of wine and pot-ash, three half-pence—every cart load of iron, one penny—every loaded barge, three-pence, &c. From which it is reasonable to conclude that the key-dues in the preceeding table are the same as settled originally ; and that they have not varied nor increased from the first appointment to the present time.

The members of the corporation are chargeable with only one half of the dues ; every other person pays the whole, as in the table,



CHAPTER XXVI.

OF THE PORTRAITS AND PAINTINGS IN THE CHURCH.—THE
MANUSCRIPT OF THE LATE MR. CLARKE—WITH SOME OB-
SERVATIONS THEREON——AND LIKEWISE ON THE HISTO-
RICAL PAINTING IN THE TRANSEPT OF THE CATHEDRAL.

*An account of the pictures and paintings in the south
transept of the cathedral.*

IN the north-side of the transept are the portraits
of all the kings of England from William the Con-
queror to George I. over which is written

*Confiteantur tibi omnes reges terræ, quia tu es
magnus rex super omnes reges. Recta est via quæ
ducit ad vitam.*

In English. *Let all the kings of the earth con-
fess to thee, for thou, O Lord, art a great king above
all kings. Straight is the way which leads to life.*

In the interview between saint Wilfrid and
Ceadwalla, king of Sussex, Wilfrid says to the king,
writ on a scroll—*Da servis dei locum habitationis*

propter deum. In English. *Give to the servants of God a dwelling-place for God's sake.* Ceadwalla answers—*Fiat sicut petitur.* In English. *Let it be as thou desirest.*

In the interview between Henry VIII. and bishop Shurborne—Shurborne says to the king, writ on a scroll—*Most holy king, I would be glad to finish thy church of Chichester, now a cathedral, just as Ceadwalla, king of Sussex, formerly finished the church of Selsea, once a cathedral one.* Henry VIII. answers to Shurborne, on a scroll—*For the love of thy zeal, what thou askest I grant.*

Underneath is, *Operibus credite.* In English. *Believe the works.*

In the south-side of the transept are the portraits of the bishops of Selsea and Chichester, from Wilfrid to the Reformation. Beneath the picture of Wilfrid is the character and account of him in Latin, which bishop Shurborne chose to give: the translation of which is as follows:—“Saint Wilfrid, arch-
“bishop of York, taking a journey to the South-
“Saxons, and finding them as yet pagans, by his
“preaching of the holy word of God, baptized
“with the water of the holy baptism, Ceadwalla
“their

“ their king, together with his wife, and the said
 “ South-Saxons, which Ceadwalla afterwards going
 “ to Rome, obtained of pope Sergius, the gift of
 “ consecration, and dying there, was buried near
 “ saint Peter.—But Wilfrid, whilst yet living, did
 “ not cease to perform miracles. For in the island
 “ of Selsea, there had been no rain for the space of
 “ three years, whence great plagues and famines
 “ followed, But on his arrival rain fell in abundance,
 “ and watered the ground, and the plagues and the
 “ famine ceased. Likewise, while the same priest of
 “ God was at the holy mass, he saw in a vision from
 “ Heaven, the death of king Egfrid, in a battle
 “ fought against the Picts, on the death of which
 “ king he returned to the see of York. He lies
 “ honourably buried in Rippon church, which he
 “ had built.”

The account of saint Richard is likewise in
 Latin, of which the following is a translation. “ Saint
 “ Richard was very useful and beneficial to the church
 “ of Chichester, and its bishoprick. Various were
 “ his miracles. In his life time he always studied to
 “ fill the poor with the word of God and alms. On
 “ which a great multitude of people, at a place called

“ Ferring, and from all sides, flocked to see him, so
 “ that master Simon of Ferring, as yet a guest or
 “ stranger in his house, wondering, seeing so great
 “ a multitude, said, the bread in the house will not
 “ be sufficient for every one to take a little. To
 “ whom he answered, let all come, and the Lord will
 “ give. And when they were all satisfied, the same
 “ master Simon, after their departure, in counting
 “ the loaves, said he had as many as before their re-
 “ freshment. And God vouchsafed to honour him
 “ with the same miracle as yet living in his own
 “ manor of Cackham. He died in the year of our
 “ Lord, 1252.”

A COPY

Of the MS. of the late Revd. Mr. CLARKE, entitled

“ *The Antiquities of the Cathedral of Chichester :* ”

With some Remarks on the same, and on the
 Historical Painting.

“ I was surprised that the dean of Exeter, in
 “ such a transient view of this church, should dis-
 “ tinguish the several dates of the building so exactly.
 “ I entirely agree with him that the greatest part of
 “ the

“ the inside walls of the nave, choir, and transept,
 “ are bishop Ralph’s work. The round arches, the
 “ clumsy dancette (or rather pouch-headed) pillars,
 “ have the marks of that age, as the remains of his
 “ building. • Henry I. was the great contributor to
 “ this original structure. Malmsbury says of bishop
 “ Ralph—“ *Ecclesiam suam, quam a novo fecerat,*
 “ *liberalitate potissimum regis fecit.*” What bishop
 “ Seffrid did was probably a great work, but much
 “ less considerable. Many of the fine things men-
 “ tioned in the table, doctor Lyttleton speaks of as
 “ of no authority. All that the annals of Winchester
 “ say of him is—“ *Dedicata est ecclesia Cicestriæ a*
 “ *Seffrido ejusdem loci episcopo, A. D. 1199, 2d idus*
 “ *Septembris :*” and again, “ *Obiit Seffridus episco-*
 “ *pus Cicestriæ, A. D. 1204.*” The annals are so far
 “ from giving him any eulogium upon the account
 “ of his buildings, that they say nothing of them.
 “ In a ms. catalogue of the bishops older than bishop
 “ Shurborne, belonging to the church, the account
 “ is—“ *Seffridus reædificavit Cicestriam et domos*
 “ *suas in palatio.*” Not a word mentioned of the
 “ church, which would most probably have been par-
 “ ticularly specified, had it been entirely burned
 “ down.”

“ And

“ And from hence I think it may be justly con-
 “ cluded, that the church was only damaged in this
 “ fire, and perhaps the roof quite destroyed: for it
 “ is scarce possible that such pillars and arches of
 “ stone should be entirely reduced to ashes by a fire.
 “ Bishop Godwin places the second fire, not as the
 “ table in 1185, but as it should be, in 1187. “So
 “ Hoveden ad A. D. 1187. Combusta est fere tota
 “ Civitas Cicestria cum ecclesia sedis pontificalis, et
 “ domibus episcopi, et canonicorum,” (page 640.)
 “ Of the former fire in bishop Ralph’s time, he says,
 “ Civitas Cicestriæ cum principali monasterio 39.
 “ non: Maij flammis consuminata est A. D. 1114.”
 “ (p. 473.) And Malmsury’s account is, “fortuitus
 “ ignis ecclesiam pessundedisset.” Bishop Seffrid’s
 “ repairs, at this distance of time, are scarce possi-
 “ ble to be distinguished from bishop Ralph’s origi-
 “ nal work, unless some pillars, which have carved
 “ and lighter capitals, and which support the upper-
 “ most round arches, and the two towers at the west
 “ end, *are* part of them.—But whatever bishop
 “ Seffrid did, it is certain that all the great improve-
 “ ments in the present fabric, were after his time,
 “ the successive work of several bishops, Aquila,
 “ Pooré,

“ Poore, Wareham, and Neville. Aquila, who by
 “ his name should be of noble family in this county,
 “ which had then very considerable possessions in it,
 “ was the person who begun this work. This appears
 “ by the patent rolls in the eighth of king John, a
 “ few years after the death of Seffrid, where there is
 “ a royal licence granted to the bishop of Chichester
 “ to import materials for repairing the church:—
 “ *Licentia episcopi Cicestrensi ducendi marmor suum*
 “ *per mare a Purbeck ad reparationem ecclesiæ Cices-*
 “ *trensis.*” This was the beginning of the most con-
 “ siderable additions to bishop Ralph’s fabric, and
 “ shows that doctor Littleton’s conjecture is right
 “ that the stone came from Purbeck, and not from
 “ Caen.”

“ About eight years after the date of this licence,
 “ Poore succeeded Aquila. There can be no doubt
 “ but he carried on the work. He was the greatest
 “ builder of his age: the foundation of the present
 “ church of Salisbury is a sufficient monument of his
 “ taste and magnificence. He was here but a short
 “ time; and the repairs of this church were very
 “ far from being finished by him, or his successor,
 “ bishop Wareham.”

“ This

“ This we are sure of, because bishop Neville
 “ who succeeded, expresses great concern for re-
 “ pairing the fabric. The first of his statutes in
 “ 1232, is to make a provision for this work. He
 “ assigns the twentieth part of all the preferments in
 “ the church for that purpose, and the reason given
 “ in the statute is, “ *quia ecclesia multiplici repara-*
 “ *tione indigere dignoscitur.*” And the whole work
 “ was probably finished in his, or the beginning of
 “ his successor’s time. For bishop Richard’s consti-
 “ tutions say nothing more of the fabric, but that
 “ the old statute of bishop Simon should be revised,
 “ (i. e.) upon every promotion. “ *Medietas pre-*
 “ *bendæ usibus ecclesiæ applicetur.*” This shows
 “ that they were then carrying on no great work;
 “ otherwise he would not have altered the provisions
 “ made for it by bishop Neville’s statutes, and left
 “ the funds to support it upon so uncertain a founda-
 “ tion as that of coming into a new preferment.”

“ We have a tradition here, that the spire was
 “ built by the same workmen that built Salisbury
 “ spire; and this account is very credible; it was
 “ certainly built about the same time; the work is
 “ in the same taste and manner. The church of
 “ Salisbury

“ Salisbury was finished about the year 1256, the
 “ fourth of Henry III.”

“ The letters upon the tomb which is on the
 “ north-side of the duke of Richmond’s vault, are
 “ not Willielmus, but Radulphus Epus ; it is bishop
 “ Ralph’s monument, the builder of the church, and
 “ one of the oldest monumental inscriptions in Eng-
 “ land. One of the opposite tombs is probably Sef-
 “ frid’s. The work is in the same taste as bishop
 “ Ralph’s monument. It was a sort of fashion to bury
 “ their great benefactors, the builders, or restorers
 “ of churches, near one another. Thus at Salisbury,
 “ the two bishops that finished that noble fabric,
 “ bishop Bingham and William of York, lie opposite
 “ to each other in the very same manner in their
 “ presbytery. Whose the other monument is, there
 “ is now no knowing. It may be bishop Hilary’s ;
 “ for as Seffrid II. was from the beginning preferred in
 “ the church by his influence, he might choose to be
 “ deposited close to his great patron and benefactor.”

“ The monument on the north-side of the
 “ kings, behind the stalls, is saint Richard’s. It was
 “ formerly much adorned ; and some remains of it
 “ appear at this time. There is an order in Rymer
 “ the

“ the eighth of Edward I. “ *Pro focalibus recupera-*
 “ *tis feretro beati Richardi reoffigendis,*” (for re-
 “ fastening the hangings that are preserved on the
 “ shrine of saint Richard.) It was visited by the
 “ Papists, on the 3d day of April, even since the
 “ Restoration.”

“ The historical painting in the south-transept,
 “ is said to be the work of one Bernardi, an Italian,
 “ who came into England with bishop Shurborne.
 “ Painting was then brought to its highest perfec-
 “ tion in Italy; and very probably this man might
 “ be a disciple of some of the great masters. The
 “ picture is certainly not Holbein’s. I could venture
 “ to affirm this by what I have seen of Holbein’s
 “ work at Cowdry. He was eminent for colouring
 “ and expression, but had no notion of perspective,
 “ and very little of composition. His landscapes are
 “ so ill designed, that his very towns lie in ambush,
 “ and the horsemen who besiege them, are big enough
 “ to ride over the walls. What this picture was for
 “ colouring and expression before it was so much
 “ defaced in the great rebellion, there is no knowing;
 “ but the manner is quite different from Holbein’s.
 “ The perspective is not bad, the architecture ex-
 “ cellent,

“cellent, and the figures are in general well disposed in the picture: I should make no question but the tradition here is the true account of it.”

I have not the least doubt but this essay was written by Mr. Clarke, but he does not introduce it as the result of his own researches but as the opinion of the dean of Exeter—throughout the whole what is said on the subject is little more than the echo of doctor Lyttleton’s observations on the subject, and as such I shall consider it.

During the time that bishop Ralph sat here (thirty-two years) he built the church twice. The first fabric was confessedly of wood; whether the second was so too must be determined by probability; for the records are silent on that head. Though his predecessors, and he himself, had made preparations almost twenty years for this great work, (the first church) yet was he nine or ten years in finishing it. In 1108 it received its completion; but was unhappily burnt down in 1114—nine years after this, i. e. 1123, the bishop died: and I think it cannot be maintained nor believed, that in so short a period he should be able to make the necessary preparations, begin, carry on, and finish so vast an edifice
of

of stone. I think it can hardly be doubted but this second fabric was built of wood—and then Mr. Clarke's, or rather doctor Lyttleton's, reasonings will fall to the ground, “that such pillars and arches of “stone could not be entirely reduced to ashes by a “fire.” His own quotation from Hoveden proves that the church was (not barely damaged but) entirely consumed by the second fire—“*Combusta est “fere tota Civitas Cicestrensis cum ecclesia sedis “pontificalis, et domibus episcopi et canonicorum.*” From the annals of Winchester, and other records, I maintain that bishop Seffrid built the church as it now stands; but it will not from thence follow that every thing belonging to it, as a cathedral church, was thoroughly finished and completed, especially within; and therefore we need not wonder, that bishop Neville should say—“*Ecclesia multiplici reparatione indigere dignoscitur.*” Nor yet that bishop Aquila, in the beginning of his episcopate, solicited and obtained licence from king John—“*Ducendi “marmor suum per mare a Purbeck ad repara- “tionem,*” &c.

But what appears to me to be decisive on this point is, that bishop Seffrid, assisted by six other prelates,

prelates, *consecrated* the church on the 2d of the Ides (i. e. the 12th day) of September, A. D. 1199: for it would be absurd to suppose that he, or they, would have performed that solemn office if the church had only been *repaired*, as the essay supposes.

In the ms. there is an almost implicit deference paid to the opinion of doctor Lyttleton, to which it was not entitled: especially as that opinion was formed on a cursory survey of the subject. It says that Henry I. was the great contributor to this work, i. e. the building of the cathedral. This is very unlikely; for at that time he was on very bad terms both with Anselm the arch-bishop, and Paschal the pope, who threatened him with excommunication, on account of his claiming the right of ecclesiastical investitures.—“Bishop Godwin places the second fire in 1187;” the table, and the annals of Winchester, with more probability in 1185. “Bishop Seffrid’s *repairs* cannot be distinguished from bishop Ralph’s *original* work; unless some pillars, &c. and the *“two towers at the west-end are some of them.”* It is plain by inspection that there is only *one* tower there now.—“Poore succeeded Aquila. There can be no doubt but he carried on the work.” He sat

here only two years, and therefore cannot be supposed to have done much. “He (Poore) was the “greatest builder of his age: the foundation of the “present church of Salisbury is a sufficient monument of his taste* and magnificence.” It does not appear by the records of the time, that he *did* lay the foundation of it: and circumstances are unfavorable to that opinion; for he was translated to Dunholme (Durham) the 22d of July, 1228—and the church of Salisbury was not finished till the year 1256 or 1257—a longer period than we can well suppose it to be in hand. In consequence of long feuds and contentions between the clergy (of Sarum) and the earl (Devereux,) the bishop (Poore) procured a bull from the pope, authorising him to remove the church from the hill to the vale, where Salisbury now stands. A new *wooden* chapel was therefore begun and finished by him in 1224; and on the feast of Trinity he celebrated divine service in it; and consecrated it a cemetery. In 1225, on the vigil of saint Michael, he consecrated three altars, on the area which he marked out, and on which the cathedral now stands, at which consecration the archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin were present:—
and

* Music, painting, and poetry, are the ONLY provinces of taste,

and two or three years afterwards was translated to the see of Dunholme. Bishop Bingham succeeded him at Salisbury—a prelate of considerable learning (for the times) and great influence. A few years before his death, (2d of November, 1246) he began to build the church, for which he had been long making preparations; and his successor, William of York, completed the vast undertaking, at the time above-mentioned. This Mr. Clarke seems to allow, when he says—“ it was a sort of fashion to bury the “ builders or restorers of churches near one another: “ thus at Salisbury, the two bishops that *finished* that “ noble fabric, bishop Bingham and William of York, “ lie near one another.”

“ We have a tradition (says Mr. Clarke) that “ the spire was built by the same workmen that built “ Salisbury spire: and this account is very credible; “ it was certainly built about the same time; the “ work is in the same taste and manner. The church “ of Salisbury was finished in the year 1256—the 4th “ of Henry III.”——The 4th year of Henry III. was 1220, as he began his reign in 1216—but that is immaterial. That the same workmen should build both spires can hardly be imagined; as the time of

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their

their erection was more than half a century apart ; for we cannot suppose that the outward work of Chichester cathedral was not finished at the time of its consecration, A. D. 1199. That there is a similarity in the style is true ; though the plan in several respects, is different. In Chichester the great tower in the center of the cross is higher than that of Salisbury in proportion. The extreme top of the spire of the latter, is more than an hundred feet higher than that of the former : but that has nothing to do with style or relative proportion ; as the whole structure is on a larger scale than ours. In Chichester the choir is higher than the pavement of the church, at the west door the ascent is five steps : in Salisbury there is no ascent to the choir, the pavement of it is on a level with that of the church.

“ What the historical painting in the south-
 “ transept was for colouring and expression before
 “ it was so much defaced in the great rebellion, (Mr.
 “ Clarke says) there is no knowing.” There is no sign nor mark that the parliamentarians at all interfered with these ; the pictures of the kings, bishops, &c. have lost their colouring and expression, by the ravages of a more irresistible enemy—time. His
 strictures

strictures on Holbein are not conceived with that judgment nor liberality of sentiment that I should have looked for from Mr. Clarke—if he had “had no notion of perspective, and very little of composition,” his reputation as an artist could not stand so high as it does. With his style I am unacquainted; but know that his fame as a painter stands on an elevation which the shafts of common critics cannot reach, but fall harmless on the ground, or on the head of the assailant.

In the historical picture above-mentioned, Ceadwalla is represented as the person who made the grant to Wilfrid of the island of Selsea: whereas it is evident both from Bede and William of Malmesbury, that it was Adelwalch, king of the South-Saxons, that founded this church. Bede’s words are “Rex
 “Adeluilch donavit reverendissimo Antistili Vilfrido
 “terram otaginta et septem familiarum ubi homines
 “suos—recipere posset, vocabulo Selaeseii: hunc
 “locum cum accepisset episcopus Vilfridus fundavit
 “ibi monasterium.” &c. p. 156. Malmesbury confirms this: “Is, Adelualch, beatissimum Wilfridum,
 “a sede sua exulantem, benigne dignatus hospitio,
 “episcopatus etiam sede extulcrat loco qui Seleseje
 “dicitur;

“ dicitur; et Wilfridus ibidem monasterium ædificavit,” &c. p. 257. The account given us of Ceadwalla by the above historians and others is—that he was a West-Saxon, related to the royal family; that he endeavoured to raise a rebellion there, in order to dethrone the king, and usurp the government; that his practices were discovered, and he forced to fly; that he and his adherents fled to the weald of Sussex, and supported themselves “quoquo modo,” (as they could); that Adelwalch expelled him from thence; that he retired from the kingdom of the South-Saxons, without mentioning whither; that on the death of Kentwin, king of Wessex, his faction raised him to the throne, A. D. 686; that soon after his elevation he raised an army, and marched against Kent, where he was beaten; that in his return home he attacked Adelwalch, whom he overcame and killed in a pitched battle, but was forced by Berthun and Anthun, two popular noblemen of Sussex, to retire into his own territories; that some time after he attacked the isle of Wight, then an appendage of the crown of Sussex, and put the greater part of the miserable inhabitants thereof to the sword, and made a present of the rest of them

to the bishop of Selsea. Very soon after this, he went a pilgrimage to Rome, and died there A. D. 689, “plus minus triginta annos natus,” (about thirty years of age.) The same authors inform us that the time that he reigned was between two and three years. According to sir William Dugdale, and the respectable authority of Mr. Clarke, late canon of Chichester, the charters of this church bear the date of 673, at which time Ceadwalla was not more than thirteen or fourteen years old: too young, surely, to undertake and conduct an hostile expedition against a warlike people, and afterwards in his retreat, attack the South-Saxons, kill their king, seize upon the government, and regulate the affairs of the state. And if these difficulties could be got over, one insurmountable remains, viz. it is universally allowed that Wilfrid did not come into Sussex at all before the year 680. The grant was made to him (Wilfrid) who accepted and signed the same in the name of the bishop of York. From whence it will follow that the date of these charters must have been changed by some means or other. To make the history of that tumultuary time consistent with itself, the expedition against the isle of Wight must have

been in 687 or 688, in all probability the last exploit of Ceadwalla, before undertaking his pilgrimage. At that time Hedda was bishop of the West-Saxons, and Eadbert of Sussex. To this last prelate it must have been, and not to Wilfrid, that Ceadwalla made the donation of the people of Wight, who had the good fortune not to be massacred by him: for Bede says expressly, (p. 314) “both in
 “word and deed he (Wilfrid) performed the office
 “of bishop in these parts (Sussex) during the space
 “of five years, that is till the death of Egfrid,” &c. and in page 385, “he (Egfrid) was drawn into the
 “streights of inaccessible mountains, and slain, with
 “the greatest part of his forces, in the year of our
 “Lord 685.” Immediately on the death of this prince, Wilfrid returned into his own country, the kingdom of the Northumbrians; leaving Eadbert, his successor, in the see of the South-Saxons. It is not too much to say that it was at the importunity of Hedda, that Ceadwalla spared the lives of some of the inhabitants of the isle of Wight, and returned them to the bishop of the South-Saxons, to whose jurisdiction they, of right, belonged. That the same prelate roused the conscience of the guilty king to
 a sense

a sense of his atrocities, and prompted him to undertake his pilgrimage to Rome ; which he entered upon about the end of the year 688, was baptized on the Saturday before Easter, 689, by pope Sergius II. “ and being still in his white garments, he fell sick, “ and dying the 12th of the kalends of May the same “ year, was there buried with great funeral pomp,” &c. page 394.

Eolla succeeded Eadbert in this see, after whose death it was vacant several years, and governed in those troublesome and unsettled times by commission to Hedda, bishop of the West-Saxons, from the arch-bishop of Canterbury. It was this bishop Hedda, most probably, who changed both the name of the founder, and the date of the foundation of this church, by substituting Ceadwalla for Adelwalch, and 673 for 683 ; the real date of the grant. Hedda was a West-Saxon, and partial to his own province. Besides, in those days, to belong to a church founded by a person who went a pilgrimage to Rome, was baptized by the pope. died almost in his presence, and buried at the feet of saint Peter and saint Paul, was looked upon as a matter of great honour. After the Conquest, the inhabitants of Sussex were the
most

most hated by the Normans, of all the English, as many of them held immediately of king Harold, and most of them were friendly to his person and government; and therefore they would be more disposed to confirm than to detect and rectify any errors of the above tendency.

Bede, so often mentioned, was a cotemporary historian, of the greatest veracity, who wrote not from uncertain tradition, but authentic testimony: worthy of the most unbounded credit in all cases wherein superstition is not concerned. In every other respect our English historians, except Hume, are agreed in paying the greatest regard to his authority. In the dedication of his history he tells us “in like manner Daniel, the most reverend bishop of the West-Saxons, who is now living, communicated to me in writing some things relating to the ecclesiastical history of that province, and of the next adjoining to it, of the South-Saxons, and of the isle of Wight.” So that, in fact, we have the united testimony of Bede and Daniel, bishop of the West-Saxons, that it was not the king of Wessex, but Adelwalch, king of the South-Saxons, that founded
the

the church of Chichester. In the present question, the testimony of the bishop of Wessex is superior to any other, and the most satisfactory that can be wished. It was during the reign of Ina, the most illustrious of the Saxon kings of the heptarchy, that he communicated his intelligence to the northern historian. This prince succeeded his uncle Ceadwalla on the throne of Wessex. If the fact had not, at that time, been notorious, that Adelwalch founded this church, he would not have presumed to have robbed the preceeding king of that honour, during the reign of his nephew.

Besides, if the royal pilgrim, at so early a period of his life, in the year 673, founded a Christian church among the South-Saxons, how came it to pass that he himself lived fifteen or sixteen years after a professed heathen, and a barbarian, and did not acknowledge nor take upon him the faith of Christ, till a very short time before his death?

I make these remarks with a trembling hand. The attempt to invalidate the records of a venerable establishment, much more the calling in question the sacred charters thereof, may be deemed rash, presumptuous,

presumptuous and unwarrantable: a charge which I should be exceedingly concerned to deserve. While I was in expectation of receiving the MS. of the late learned canon of this church, I hoped that on perusing it I should find this question clearly stated, impartially investigated, and satisfactorily settled. But on receiving it I was greatly disappointed in finding that he has not professedly touched upon the subject. In one or two places he has indirectly intimated his opinion of it—and only in one directly said “*Adelulch fundavit ecclesiam Cicestriae circiter ann. 68—*,” but quotes no authority. Perhaps it was his very great humility that made him decline to agitate a question of a nature so delicate, and so difficult to be decided. Whatever his reasons were, we have cause to regret that the hand which was best qualified did not favour the world with a critical investigation of this subject. The present weak attempt, if it convinces the unprejudiced and impartial, has a right to be forgiven; or if it lead to an examination of the subject, whereby the truth at last may be developed and established—may, on that footing, claim the same candour. However clear and evident the
 matter

matter may appear to me, it does not from thence follow that my position is certainly true, and therefore I have assigned my reasons for believing as I do ; if they be not satisfactory to the reader, he is at liberty to reject them, and adhere to the contrary opinion.



CHAPTER XXVII.

OF THE MARTYRS OF CHICHESTER AND THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX
 —BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ALL THE BISHOPS OF SELSEA AND
 CHICHESTER, FROM SAINT WILFRID TO THE PRESENT TIME
 —A LIST OF ALL THE DEANS.

THE MARTYRS.

ACCORDING to the account which is given of bishop Peacock, (or Pocock) we may venture to enroll him among those who have sealed the truth of the gospel of Christ with their blood. And though he is said to have recanted in order to save his life, yet, as he afterwards renounced that recantation and maintained the truth, no man who has a due sense of the weakness of human nature, will deny his memory that honour.

The authors of the *Magna Britannia* inform us of “three godly men, confessors, or martyrs shall we call them, let the reader judge, who died in the castle of Chichester, in the month of October, 1556, being there in bonds for the cause of Christ’s
 “gospel,

“ gospel. If they had lived they would have suffered
 “ the like martyrdom as others had done ; but death
 “ prevented the designs of the enemies of truth ;
 “ whether their death was natural or violent is doubt-
 “ ful ; for though they suffered no outward visible
 “ violence, it is probable, as they all three died
 “ nearly together, that it was through some cruel
 “ treatment of their enemies, (who buried them in
 “ an adjoining field) that they came to their end at
 “ the same time—but we leave the determination to
 “ God.” The place called the castle of Chichester
 in the above account, was the Friary, which Henry
 the eighth had a few years before given to the mayor
 and corporation.

Thomas Harland, carpenter, and John Oswald,
 husbandman, both of Woodmancote, in the rape of
 Bramber—Thomas Avington, of Ardingly, in the
 riding or rape of Lewes, turner, and Thomas Read,
 were all burned together, in one fire at Lewes, after
 long imprisonment in the King's Bench at London.
 Thomas Harland's crime was, that since queen Mary's
 arrival at the throne, he had not been at the church;
 to which he answered, that after the mass was re-
 stored he had no will to hear the same, because it

was read in *Latin*, which he did not understand, and therefore he thought it would be as well not to go at all as go and not be better. John Oswald refused to answer any thing objected to him, till his accusers came face to face: which resolutely persisting in, they threatened to burn him as a heretick if he would not answer the questions put to him: to which he replied, that fire and faggots could not intimidate him; that as the good preachers in king Edward's time had suffered, and gone before him, so was he ready to suffer and go after them; and should rejoice to do so.—There remains nothing of the examination and answers of the two others; except that Thomas Read, before he was sent to prison, had determined to go to church and conform to the popish doctrine and service; but the night following he saw in a vision, a company of tall young men in white, very pleasant to behold, to whom he would have joined himself, but could not; whereupon he looked on himself, and was full of spots; and then waking, he resolved to stand to the truth, which he accordingly did, and so in June 1556, they were burned together in one fire at Lewes; in the same month as the others, at about a fortnight's distance.

Thomas

Thomas Wood, a minister, and Thomas Mills, were burned together at Lewes, for opposing the corrupt doctrines of the Romish church.

Henry Adlington, a sawyer, at East-Grinsted, in this county, going to speak with one Gratwick, a prisoner in Newgate for the testimony of the gospel, was apprehended and brought before doctor Story, and by him sent to the bishop of London, to be farther examined; for which end, being, with divers others, brought before doctor Derbyshire, the bishop's chancellor, and examined upon divers articles; in their answers to which, they all agreed, except that being interrogated about the mass, sacrament of the altar, and the catholic church, Adlington answered, that for nine or ten years before he had disliked the mass, and also the sacrament of the altar, because they cannot be proved by scripture. And as touching the authority of the see of Rome, when he was fourteen years of age he took an oath against it, which oath (he said) he was resolved by God's help to keep. Being by the examination convicted of heresy, (as they deemed it) they were all condemned to be burned—and accordingly, being delivered over

to the secular power, suffered at the stake, at Stratford le Bow, June 27, 1556.

Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and a woman of the name of Tree, suffered at East-Grinsted, July 18th, 1556, and patiently endured the most furious rage that man could work against them, for the sake of truth.

John Hart, Thomas Ravensdale, a shoemaker, and a currier, (of which two last we have not the names) were all burned together in Pevensey rape, in one fire, 24th of September, 1556. Of these it is remarked, that being at the stake, and ready to be put into the fire, they chearfully and joyfully yielded up their lives for the testimony of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Richard Woodman, George Stevens, William Maynard, Alexander Hoffman his servant, Thomasia Wood his maid, Margery Morris and James Morris, her son, Denis Burgess, Ashdon's wife, and Grover's wife, ten godly martyrs of Christ, were burnt at Lewes, June 22, 1557. Of these the first and chief was Richard Woodman, an iron-maker by trade, dwelling in the parish of Warbleton, in the rape of Hastings, in this county and diocese, a person of good reputation,

reputation, who did much good in the country by setting many poor men to work. He being a godly man, and reading the scriptures much, was firmly established in the doctrines preached in king Edward the sixth's days, for which he was apprehended on this occasion. One Fairbank, a married man, and minister of the town, who had in king Edward's days taught the doctrines set forth by authority, zealously persuading his people never to embrace or hold any other, turned upon the accession of queen Mary, and preached clean contrary to what he had before delivered. Woodman hearing him so to preach in their parish church, admonished him of his inconstancy in teaching formerly one thing, and now another; and desired him to preach the truth and hold to it. By this reproof Fairbank was so provoked, that he caused Woodman to be apprehended, and being carried before several justices of the county, was by them committed to the King's Bench prison, where he was kept about a year and a half, and then sent to the bishop of London's cole-house, and there remained a month, before he was brought upon his examination; after which he was released by bishop Bonner, who had examined him several times upon

the very day that Mr. Philpot was burnt, only upon his promise to be an honest man. Having his liberty he conversed some time among his neighbours and friends, and for information sought instruction of several priests, and other understanding men, but received no satisfaction. Bonner, and the lord chamberlain Gage, hearing of his actions, that he preached, baptized, and married, (though he was of these things falsely accused) sent out four or five warrants to apprehend him again, which by means of his father and brother, who had his estate in their hands, and cared not to come to an account, they effected; and he being taken, was sent to London, April 12, 1557, and within two days brought upon his examination before doctor Christopherson, bishop of Chichester, and others. His examinations are set down at length in Mr. Fox's Martyrology, and being upon the usual points, the catholic church, seven sacraments, transubstantiation, &c. to which he gave the same answers as the martyrs of other counties did; we shall pass them over, and come to his execution at Lewes, June 22, 1557. His judicial sentence was pronounced by doctor White, bishop of Winchester, in company with doctor Christopherson,

his

his ordinary, and other divines; after which he was kept in the Marshalsea a few days, and then sent down to Lewes, and there burnt, with the nine others above-mentioned, at one stake. The other nine were taken up not above two or three days before their execution, in which space of time 'tis not probable the writ for their burning could have been obtained regularly, and on that footing their persecutors were guilty of direct murder.*

THE BISHOPS.

The Saxon inhabitants of this county were Pagans before the year of our Lord 680, when they were converted to the Christian religion by the preaching of Wilfrid, of whom I have given a pretty full account in the beginning of this work, which it is not necessary to repeat here. According to Bede, he continued here four or five years, and quitted the diocese in the year 684 or 685, and died at Rippon in Yorkshire, A. D. 706—and was succeeded here by

Eadbert, or Edbrith, abbot of Selsea, bishop of the kingdom of the South-Saxons, to which he

F. F 3

was

* Vide Mag. Britann.

was consecrated the same year. How long he sat we find not, but that

Eolla was his successor, and that after him this see was vacant to the death of Bede in 735.

Sigga, or as others call him Sigelmus, or Sigfridus, succeeded Eolla. He was present at the synod holden by Cuthbert arch-bishop of Canterbury, anno 746. After him the see was filled with bishops for some time, of whom we know nothing now but the names. Probably they were men of piety and worth, and peaceable, who studied rather to promote the interest and spread of Christianity among men, than erect monuments of fame in the world.

Alubrith succeeded, anno 761—Isaacson.

Osa, or Bosa, in 790—Ibid.

Giseltherus, in 817—Heylin.

Tota, in 844—Ibid.

Wigthun, in 873—Ibid.

Ethelulph, in 891—Ibid.

Beornegus, in 905 or 906, (Isaacson, Godwin.)

He was taken by the Danes, Matthew of Westminster informs us, and redeemed by king Edward the elder for forty pounds.

Coenred succeeded in 923—Isaacson——924
Heylin. Gutheard,

Gutheard, in 942—Isaacson——died in 960,

Alfred, in 960—Isaacson——died in 970.

Eadhelm, in 970—Isaacson——died in 980.

Ethelgar, in 980, the abbot of the new monastery at Winchester, and was translated to Canterbury eight years afterwards.

Ordbright, anno 988, (Godwin) and held the see fifteen years.

Elmar, in 1003, (Isaacson) and died in 1019.

Ethelrike, or Agelred, or Agelric, succeeded in 1019, and died on the 5th of November 1038. (Godwin.)

Grincketellus, in 1039, who being ejected, as Malmsbury informs us, from the see of the East-Saxons, for simonaical practices, purchased this with his money; which he held eight years: and dying in the year 1047,

Heca, king Edward the Confessor's chaplain, was consecrated to it in 1047, and sat here ten years.

Agelric succeeded him in 1057. He was a monk of Canterbury, and being very famous for his great skill in the common-law of England, was appointed by William the Conqueror, arbitrator, together with Geoffrid, bishop of Constance, to judge

and determine according to right and equity, a controversy then subsisting between Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and Odo, earl of Kent, that king's half-brother, by the mother's side, concerning certain farms. He (Lanfranc) was an old man, and not able to bear the shaking of the carriage he was conveyed in; yet was carried to the place appointed, namely Pinkenden-heath, whither a great number of the people of his province were gathered together to give their testimony for their arch-bishop; for whom judgment was given, as is said in the history of the bishops of Canterbury. Florence of Worcester says, that this bishop was afterwards deprived, in the synod held at Windsor; but it is thought unjustly, and imprisoned in Malmesbury-gaol, anno 1070: soon after which, if he did not die, another was put into his see, viz.

Stigandus, the Conqueror's chaplain, in the year last-mentioned, who sat in this see at Selsea, when they were ordered to be removed from villages to towns as mentioned before: in obedience to which, this Stigandus removed his to Chichester, where, Malmesbury tells us, there was a monastery, dedicated to saint Peter, and a society of nuns. He
therefore

therefore became the first bishop of Chichester, and died A. D. 1087.

William, by some called Godfrey, succeeded him in the year 1087, and died in 1088, from which time the see was vacant till 1091.

Ranulph, or Ralph, was his successor, as William of Malmesbury assures us, who gives us this description of him:—To William succeeded Ralph, who was famous not only for the tallness of his body but the vigour of his mind. He, out of a conscientious regard for his office as a priest, opposed William Rufus to his face, in behalf of arch-bishop Anselm, whom that king had troubled without cause; and whereas most of the bishops favoured the king's side, and refused to stand up for Anselm, he rebuked those bishops, as well as blamed the king, who was so provoked thereby, that he redoubled his threatenings; but this bishop was not all terrified by them, but stretching out his crosier, and pulling off his ring, offered them to the king, if he would take them; which resolution had certainly prevailed, had not Anselm himself cut off all hopes of reconciliation by his flight; which weakened his cause, and tended afterwards to his great damage.—Some years after
this,

this, in the reign of king Henry I. he shewed great resolution in behalf of religion, in opposing that prince's commands, in requiring all the married clergy to pay him a fine throughout all England. The rest of the bishops either approved of this exaction, or by their silence seemed so to do, as not daring to oppose the king: but nothing could bring this bishop to a compliance, for he prohibited divine service to be read in his diocese, and ordered the church-doors to be filled up with thorns; not intending thereby to hinder the monks singing, but to keep out the laity. These rigorous dealings so prevailed upon the king, that he allowed him alone, as a man of a disturbed mind, to receive the fines of the priests. Nevertheless, the religion and courage of the bishop begat so good an opinion of him, in the king's mind, that he forgave all that he had done, saying now and then, his bishoprick is small, and his church (which had been lately burnt down, viz. May the 5th, 1114) ought not to be impoverished with taxes; but rather to be enriched with offerings. Thus did the constant innocence of the bishop beget so great a veneration for him, that the king, who took away from others, gave to him freely and willingly,

willingly, as if directed by him. For whereas his church, which he had almost built new, was, by an accidental fire nearly destroyed, (as is before-mentioned) he in a small time rebuilt it: and died in a most Christian manner; having given all his goods to the poor; to whom he caused before his death his cloaths to be distributed even to the bed he lay on. A person he was, who by his good actions, gained an eternal remembrance to himself, having raised the see from a miserable and low condition, to the highest pitch of grandeur. So many of the clergy, as the revenues of his bishoprick could maintain, he kept with him. He furnished his church with ornaments of all sorts, which were so few before, that we are ashamed to mention them. He went round his diocese three times a year, purely to preach the gospel; requiring nothing of his clergy or parishes by his episcopal authority, and if they made him any present, gratefully receiving it. Such as had offended he reprov'd; and if admonition did not prevail, he shamed the guilty, by some ingenious reflection, into a reformation. He died in the year 1124, the 24th of Henry I. and

Seffridus,

Seffridus, the brother of Rāph, arch-bishop of Canterbury, and abbot of Glastenbury, succeeded him. He was consecrated April 12, 1125, and died (as Westminster intimates) in the year 1132—32d of Henry I. One named

Hillarius succeeded him, of whom nothing more is said in our histories, but that he, of all the English bishops, plainly and literally approved of the statute of Clarendon, without any addition of that odious clause, which the rest of the bishops insisted on—“*so far as they might without prejudice to their order.*” How long he held this see cannot be exactly ascertained. Isaacson says he died 1169.

John de Greenford, dean of Chichester, was chosen bishop of this see, anno 1173, consecrated to it in the next year, and died in 1180, when he was succeeded by

Seffrid, the second of that name, was consecrated the 17th of October, 1180—about which time almost the whole city was burnt, together with the church, and houses of the clergy.—The church, as it now stands, this worthy prelate rebuilt, together with the palace, the cloisters, and the commons-houses; and finished the whole in the space of fourteen

teen years. On the 12th of September, 1199, he consecrated the church with great splendour and magnificence, being assisted by six other bishops. He gave the parsonage of Seaford, and other valuable benefactions, to the church. After having filled the see about nineteen years, and been a great example of generosity and piety, he died the 17th of March, 1204—his figure cut in black marble is on the south-side of the door of the duke of Richmond's vault.

Simon de Wells was chosen bishop of Chichester December the 22d, 1204. He departed this life in 1207, and was succeeded by

Nicholas de Aquila, descended from the famous Eugenulf de Aquila, who came into England with the Conqueror; and though he was slain in the battle of Hastings, left sons to inherit the successes of that day. He was consecrated anno 1209, but history says no more of him but that

Richard Poore, dean of Salisbury, was his successor in this see. He was consecrated to it anno 1215, removed from it to Salisbury anno 1217, and from thence to Durham.

Ralph

Ralph de Warham, first official and then (as some assert) prior of the church of Norwich, was chosen in his room anno 1217, and soon after confirmed in this see by Walo, the pope's legate: being restored to the temporalities of it December 27th, the second of Henry III. He gave to his see a wind-mill, standing in Bishopston, and departed this life 1222. His successor was

Ralph Nevile, (lord chancellor of England) consecrated on the 21st of April, 1224. He was a great benefactor to this church. He gave his noble palace where Lincoln's inn now stands, to his successors, the bishops of Chichester, for ever; where some of them lived when they repaired to London; he also gave them the estates called Chichester-rents, in Chancery-Lane; being the only part now remaining of that great benefaction. He obtained for this see some charters from king Henry III. and also a grant of the Broiles, with their appurtenances, near this city; and a place called the Bishop's garden, now a burying ground without East-gate. He gave Greyling-Well and other lands, to the dean and chapter of this cathedral. He gave a large sum of money towards repairing this church; and several
quarters

quarters of wheat yearly to the poor for ever, which is now baked into bread, and distributed among them, at several times of the year. He built the chancel of the church of Amberly from the ground, and also a chapel dedicated to saint Michael, without East-gate. He sat here about twenty-one years; and after a life spent in the service of God, the church, and state, died at London, February 1, 1244, and was buried in this cathedral.

Bishop Nevile being dead, the prebendaries of Chichester proceeded to the election of another bishop; and to please the king, chose one Robert Passelew for their bishop; because the king had a great kindness for him, upon the account of his industry and quick dispatch of business—but his election was set aside by the pope's mandate, in order to make room for

Richard de la Wich, who by some means had advanced himself into great favour at the court of Rome. He was consecrated in 1245, and dying anno 1253, aged fifty-six years, was buried in this cathedral. He was afterwards canonized by the Romish church, and his anniversary appointed to be kept the 3d day of April. Under his picture, among
the

the bishops in the church, there is a pretty long account of miracles, said to be wrought by him, (as mentioned before.) We are sorry that we cannot give the reader the history of this pretended saint from authentic records: we apprehend him to have been originally one of the Dominican friars, or preaching brothers; a set of hypocritical fanatics, who sprung up about this time out of the dung and corruption of the church of Rome—that he distinguished himself by his vehemence against the Albigenses, a sect of heretics (as they were then called) but whose tenets differed but little from the Protestants of the present age; that by these means he ingratiated himself with the pope, who contrary to the regulations of the lateran, appointed him among the secular clergy, and honoured him with the mitre of Chichester: that in this station he continued to exert himself in defence of his worthy patroness, the Romish church, by the same arts of hypocrisy and fraud, whereby he had imposed upon the ignorance and credulity of mankind before his exaltation.—Be this as it will, we know assuredly that this was an age of gross delusion, consummate ignorance, and gloomy superstition; and in a word

the

the very midnight of papal darkness ; a fit season for pretended saints to exhibit lying wonders ! We are truly sorry that a man of bishop Shurborn's great discernment, should have given the authority of his name to so palpable a fallacy ; nor indeed can we account for the same otherwise than by supposing that when that account was written and received his sanction, age had weakened the powers of his understanding ; which we verily believe was the case ; for he died a few years after, at the advanced age of ninety-six.

John Clipping, a prebendary of the church, succeeded him. He, among other things, gave to this cathedral the manor of Drungwich, in the parish of Wisborough-Green, and built upon it a palace for the bishops, his successors. We suppose he sat about eight years, for we find that

Stephen de Perkstead had the temporalities of this see restored to him, June 26, the forty-sixth of Henry III. About three years after, viz. in 1265, he was excommunicated because he sided with the seditious barons, which was the cause he went to Rome—and after a long exile from his own country hardly obtained his absolution. He died in 1287,

and has this character given him in the chronicle of Osney. That he was “a person of the greatest sincerity and innocency, who lay under the affliction of blindness many years before he died, which made his life miserable.”

Gilbert de S. Leofardo, treasurer of the church of Chichester, official of the arch-bishop of Canterbury, and a scholar of the university of Oxford, was restored to the temporalities of this see, June the 18th, 1288. In some histories it is said that he built and endowed the chapel of the blessed Mary in Chichester, however it is most probable that he repaired the buildings and was a benefactor to the institution. Westminster gives him this encomium, viz. That he was a father to the fatherless—a comforter of the mourning widows—a pious and humble visitor to the sick and bedrid in cottages, and was more bountiful to refresh the poor than entertain the rich. He further adds, if we please to believe him, that the holiness of his life was well attested by the frequent miracles consequent upon it.

John de Langton was arch-deacon of Canterbury, treasurer of Wells, canon of York and Lincoln, prebendary of this church, besides other preferments.

In the year 1293, in the reign of king Edward I. he was made lord chancellor of England, and continued in that high office nine years. In the same reign, A. D. 1305, he was consecrated bishop of this diocese, and being a person of extraordinary prudence, was in the year 1310, appointed to be one of those called Ordainers, whose business was to be near the person of the king (Edward II.) and advise him concerning the better government of his kingdom, and indeed of himself, who was most fatally misled by his favourite Piers Gaveston : and sometime afterwards, in the miserable distractions of that prince's reign, by his wisdom and prudence, he endeavoured with some success, to promote the peace of the kingdom. This bishop was not more remarkable for his prudence than his generosity. He gave 100*l.* to the university of Oxford, deposited in a chest, with this intent—that any poor graduate might on moderate security, borrow out of it a small sum for a short time ; and it is called to this day bishop Langton's chest. He laid out 310*l.* in building the great window in this cathedral, and the bishop's chapter-house—and 100*l.* towards repairing the church. He left likewise to the church an estate in the parish of

Selsea, called Medmery, with a large stock of cattle on it. In the year 1315, the earl of Warren was excommunicated by him for adultery, and when the earl went to the bishop with a certain number of men in arms, as if he would lay violent hands upon him, the bishop calling to him his domestic servants and dependants, apprehended the earl and those that were with him, and cast them all into prison. He died the 19th of July, 1337, having filled the episcopal chair of this diocese about thirty-three years.

Robert Stratford, bishop of Chichester, was born at Stratford-upon-Avon, in Warwickshire. He was a prelate of great resolution and courage, and had the honour and execution of the highest offices in the state. In the year 1338, he was made lord chancellor, and keeper of the great seal. He was consecrated bishop of Chichester the 11th of November in the same year. Two years after which, viz. A. D. 1340, he was with king Edward III, in his camp before Tournay; but falling deeply under the king's displeasure, was sent to the Tower: from whence however he was soon discharged, but with the loss of his office as chancellor. He afterwards procured of the same king a charter of great privileges for
this

this church, and a confirmation of all former ones. In 1348, when king Edward removed the staple of wool out of Flanders, and settled it with rights and great privileges in seven cities of England, he procured the city of Chichester to be one of them; by which it received great advantages. He sat here about thirty-four years, and died at Aldingbourn, the 8th day of April, 1362.

William de Lenn, or Lulimere, doctor of laws, and dean of Chichester, was consecrated into this see in the end of June, 1362, and was translated six years after to the see of Worcester, leaving this see to

William Read, s. t. p. who was appointed by papal provision, October the 11th, anno 1369. He was provost of Wengham-college, doctor of divinity and fellow of Merton-college, Oxford. Leland in Bale gives this description of him, viz. He graced Merton-college partly by his eminent learning, and partly by the excellent library of books which he gave it after he had built a convenient place to receive them. Among other sorts of learning his great care was to encourage the study of the mathematics; and from thence it comes that there are some astro-

nomical tables of his composing. These things he did in his youth ; but when he was arrived at man's estate, he bestowed all his labours on divinity : and being adorned with the highest dignity of that profession, he was at length made bishop of this see, in which while he sat he built a castle of most excellent work at Amberley, upon the banks of the river Arun. He also put out another work, which he called "A Table of Canons." He left his astronomical tables in the above-mentioned college, which (as it is reported) are still to be seen there, with his picture drawn to the life. He died in the year 1385.

Thomas Runshooke was translated from Landaff to this see, about the middle of October the same year. He was a Dominican friar, and confessor to king Richard II. which though it was the means of his rise, was soon the cause of his fall. For when the barons rose in arms against the king, he was banished by the court, and all his goods confiscated by authority of parliament in March 1388. He seems also at the same time to have been forced to relinquish his bishoprick, for a little after he is called in the king's archives, Thomas *late* bishop of Chichester.

Richard

Richard Mitford succeeded him anno 1389, and being translated to Salisbury in 1395,

Robert Waldby, arch-bishop of Dublin, in Ireland, was removed hither the same year, and the next year was made arch-bishop of York—when

Robert Read, a Dominican friar, and then bishop of Carlisle, was at the request of Richard II. declared by the pope, at the end of the year 1396, bishop of Chichester, although William Strickland had been duly chosen to that office. He procured a cross of excellent workmanship to be set up in the market-place, and departed this life about Whitsuntide, 1417—and

Stephen Patrington, bishop of saint David's, was removed to this see in the month of December the same year, but died before his translation could be perfected, and was buried in the church of the White friars, Fleet-street, London.*

Henry Ware, L. L. D. the arch-bishop of Canterbury's official, was consecrated in the month of May, anno 1418, and dying four years after, viz. in the year 1422.

John Kemp, bishop of Rochester, was translated hither ; and within the compass of the same year, was removed to London, and after having been bishop of York, and raised to Canterbury, was created cardinal also. In this see he was succeeded by

Thomas Poldon, bishop of Hereford, 1422, who was possessed of this see but a very few years before he was translated to Worcester, and

John Rickingale, doctor of divinity, educated at Cambridge, of which and the church of York he was chancellor, was consecrated bishop of this see in the parish-church of Mortlake, June 3, 1429. Upon his tomb these verses are said to have been engraven :

“ Tu qualis cris ? quid mundi quæris honores.”

IN ENGLISH.

See, what thou soon shall be ! Why dost thou seek
Worldly honours ? Think on thy sins, and weep.
Behold in me, what thou shalt shortly be,
Death at the doors, cries—come along with me.

Simon Sidenham, doctor of laws, dean of Salisbury, was consecrated bishop of this see, February 12, 1430, although it is evident that one Thomas Bromis, doctor of laws, was canonically chosen by the chapter of Chichester, and most earnestly recommended

commended, February 4, 1429, by the university of Oxford, (where he was educated) by an epistle written in his favour. He died in the beginning of February, 1437.

Richard Praty, chancellor of the university of Oxford, succeeded him 1438, and departed this life about the feast of saint James, July 25, 1445, soon after which

Adam Molins, doctor of laws, was chosen into this see. He was dean of Salisbury, and of saint Birin in Cornwall, and had formerly been secretary of his majesty's council; and was consecrated in the month of November in the same year: soon after which he was constituted keeper of the privy-seal. He was slain at Portsmouth by certain mariners, who were sent on purpose, employed by Richard duke of York, to commit that wicked fact, July 9, 1449. He gave for the ornament of the high altar in his church, cloaths of silk, of a crimson colour, which was anciently called purple, of great value. To him succeeded

Reginald Peacock, of whom Bale thus speaks; Reginald Peacock, in Latin Pavo, leaving Wales his native country, betook himself to Oxford, where
being

being a student in Oriel college, he laboured after the attainment not only of eloquence, but also of divine and human knowledge. When he had finished the course of his studies, and commenced doctor of divinity, he was for his excellent learning and eloquence, made first bishop of saint Asaph, and then of this place, 1449, by the favour and interest (as it is said) of duke Humphrey, while he governed the kingdom. This good man seeing many blasphemous opinions to grow up among the clergy against the divine ordinances, especially about the Lord's supper; not only encouraged those that wrote and spoke against them, (as Roger Onely, David Boys, his countryman, Philip Norris an Irishman, and some others) but he himself engaged in the cause for twenty years and more, and delivered many things, both by word and writing, against the idolatry and devilish doctrines of Anti-christ. At length he was cited to a synod at Lambeth, that he might give an account of his doctrine before Thomas Bouchier, then arch-bishop of Canterbury, where he was overthrown, and condemned to imprisonment, and the fire, not by the holy scriptures, proper arguments, or convincing reasons, but by authority,

authority, force, art, fraud, fear, terror, and tyranny, and at length constrained to recant in saint Paul's church, December 4, 1457, his books, of which he had written many volumes, being burnt before his face. Several parts of the holy scriptures he translated into the English tongue, which we do not find that he was blamed for in these times. The opinions which he was condemned for holding and maintaining, are said to be these, or some such like: that human reason is not to be preferred before the writings of the old and new Testaments—that bishops buying their admissions of the Roman pontiff, sin, &c. that the office of a Christian bishop, above all other things, is to preach the word of God—that the use of the sacraments, as they were then administered, was not agreeable to the law of nature—that no man was bound to believe and obey the determinations of the church of Rome—that the apostles themselves did not frame the creed that goes under their name, and that in it it was not mentioned that Christ descended into hell—that of the four senses of scripture, the first and proper is only to be taken notice of—that he little esteemed the authority of the fathers in some points—and condemned the wilful

wilful begging of friars as a thing idle and needless. For these, and some other doctrines, which he was said to teach, as soon as duke Humphry was dead he was called in question, as mentioned before, and brought to an open recantation. He is said to have maintained other heresies (as they called them) both in preaching and writing for twenty years past and more, viz. That we are not bound by necessity of faith to believe that Christ after his death descended into hell—that it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the holy catholick church, the communion of saints, and the body of Christ to be materially in the sacrament—that the universal church may err in matters of faith, and that it is not necessary to salvation to believe, that what every general council doth ordain for the help of our faith, and salvation of mens' souls, should be holden by all faithful Christians. All which being ready drawn up in form, he read, and declared his renunciation of as erroneous and heretical, his books being burnt before his face at the same time. What became of him after this, we find not; if he was set at liberty, as we may reasonably suppose he was, he soon repented of his recantation, for he was soon after taken up
again

again, and imprisoned, where some say he was privately made away with, and killed, and so obtained the crown of martyrdom.

John Arundel, doctor of physic, succeeded 1459—and to him

Edward Story, doctor of divinity, fellow of Pembroke-Hall, in Chambridge, some time afterwards president of saint Michael's hospital there. He was consecrated bishop of Carlisle, October 14, 1468, and when he had sat nine or ten years there, was translated hither in 1478. He built the cross in the market-place, which for beauty and magnificence equalled, if not surpassed, any in the kingdom: and that the city might not be at any charge with it, he left (we are told) an estate at Amberley, worth full 25*l.* per annum, to keep it in constant repair; which a few years afterwards the mayor and corporation sold in order to purchase another of the same value nearer home. He founded also the grammar-school in this city, A. D. 1497, and died in January 1502, in the eightieth year of his age, and was buried behind the high altar in a plain tomb, on the north side, which he had a little before built for himself in his own cathedral. His successor was

Richard

Richard Fitz-James, who was translated from Rochester, anno 1504, and in 1506, again translated to London——and succeeded by

Robert Shurborn, the fourth of that name.* He was a Hampshire man, educated at Wickham-school, and fellow of New-college, Oxford, who having passed through divers preferments, as canon of Lincoln, prebendary of Wells, arch-deacon of Taunton and Huntington, and at last dean of saint Paul's, London, was in 1505, elected bishop of saint David's, under the title of Consiliarius Regius, and from thence in 1508, removed to the see of Chichester. The former and better years of his life were employed in the service of the state, under king Henry VII, as ambassador to foreign courts; where he was esteemed as a man of great integrity, prudence and address. He was easy of access, courteous and affable to all. He increased the number of singing-men in the choir, and repaired and beautified the church. A history of the foundation of the church, curiously

* In the record indeed he is called the fourth of that name, by which we are to understand the name of Robert, not that of Shurborn. He was the fifth Robert, if Dr. Passelew be reckoned, as he ought to be, in the number of bishops.

curiously painted in the south aisle of the church, together with the pictures of the kings of England, from William the Conqueror, and also those of the bishops, both of Selsea and Chichester, were done at his charge, and under his direction, by Bernardi, an Italian. What the colouring and expression of both the kings and bishops originally was cannot be determined now, the colours being nearly obliterated by the hand of time, at least reduced to one uniform sameness. But as nothing mortal is perfect, this great and good man had his failings. He was of too easy credulity, especially in the latter part of his life, and too fond of the marvellous; as appears plain enough from the history and characters which he has annexed to Wilfrid and Richard. Some of the prebends of this church were founded by him, which he directed to be filled by persons educated at either of William of Wickham's colleges. He died the 21st of August, 1536, in the ninety-sixth year of his age.

Richard Sampson, doctor of laws, and dean of the king's chapel, was elected to this see and consecrated June 9, 1536. He having sat seven years here, was translated to Litchfield in 1543, and

George

George Day, doctor of divinity, succeeded him. He had been provost of King's college, in Cambridge, ten years, and was from thence removed to this see, to which he was consecrated anno 1543. He was deprived in 1551, by king Edward VI. and imprisoned; but after two years confinement, was restored to his see by queen Mary. He died August 2, 1556, and

John Scory, doctor of divinity, and bishop of Rochester, was translated hither 1552, but had not held it more than two years when he was ejected by the accession of queen Mary to the throne. In the time of his suspension he was famous for an epistle to the faithful in prison, or other troubles for the word of God, and several other treatises proper for such as were fellow-sufferers with him, as saint Austin, of the perseverance of the saints, saint Cyprian's sermon of mortality, and exhortation to martyrdom, &c. He survived queen Mary, and being made chaplain to queen Elizabeth, was, in the beginning of her reign, made bishop of Hereford, which he enjoyed to his death, which happened at his palace at Whitburn, in the county of Hereford, June 16, 1585.

John

John Christopherson, doctor of divinity, master of Trinity-college, Cambridge, and dean of Norwich, was raised to this see, 1557, in the place of doctor Scory, deprived by queen Mary. He was a Lancashire man by birth, and educated in saint John's college, Cambridge. The time that he sat here was not more than one year, being deprived on the accession of queen Elizabeth, the 17th of November, 1558. In the task of persecution he was coadjutor to bishop Bonner, and appears to have been equally zealous with him in the work of death, though not so extensively infamous, "which mindeth me (says doctor Fuller) of an epigram made by one, who being suitor to a scornful mistress, after he had praised her for her great beauty and *divine* perfections, concluded—

"She hath too much divinity for me :

"Oh ! that she had some more humanity !"

"the same may be said of Christopherson ; though he carried much of Christ in his name ; yet did he bear nothing of him in his nature, no meekness, mildness, or mercy ; being wholly addicted to cruelty and destruction, burning no fewer than ten persons in one fire in Lewes, and seventeen others

“at several times, in sundry places.”*——To the library of Trinity he gave many books, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and built new lodgings in the college for the accommodation of the presidents. It must be confessed that he was a man of considerable learning. In his youth he translated the history of Eusebius into Latin, wherein the persecutions of the Christian church, for the three first centuries, are related; and, as if he had studied the arts of cruelty in the school of the Heathens, he practised them upon the people of his diocese, and like a tyrant, rejoiced at their sufferings. None of the ten who were burned at Lewes, were taken up but two or three days before their execution. The writ for their burning could not have been obtained regularly; and therefore their persecutors must answer to God for their blood.

William Barlow, D. D. was a native of Essex, and had his first preferment in that county, being made canon regular of saint Osyth. By Henry the eighth he was made bishop of saint Asaph, and consecrated the 22d of February, 1535. From thence in 1536, translated to the see of saint David, where he

* See Fuller's Worthies, p. 101.

he sat till 1547, when he was appoined to that of Bath and Wells; from which 1553 he was expelled the first of Mary, and flying with many others into Germany, lived in a poor condition. On the accession of queen Elizabeth to the crown, he returned into England, and was confirmed in this see the 20th of December, 1559, which he filled eight or nine years: and dying in August 1568, was buried in the cathedral. He had five daughters who were married to five bishops, as appears by his wife's monument in a church-yard in Hampshire.

Hic Agathæ Tumulus Barloi Præsulis inde
 Exulis inde; iterum Præsulis, Uxor erat
 Prole beata fuit, plena annis, quinque suarum
 Præsulibus vidit, Præsulis ipsa, datas.

IN ENGLISH.

Barlow's wife Agatha doth here remain,
 Bishop, then exile, bishop then again;
 So long she liv'd, so well his children sped,
 She saw five bishops his five daughters wed.

In his time the queen founded the college church of Westminster, and made him the first canon of the first stall, which he held, together with his bishoprick, till the day of his death.

Richard Curteys, s. t. p. succeeded him in this see—in which he was confirmed the 26th of April, 1570. He was a native of Lincolnshire, some time fellow of saint John's college, Cambridge, and proctor of that university. He wrote several treatises, and some sermons, which he caused to be printed. He died in August, 1582, and the spiritualities of this see were seized by commission from the archbishop, the 1st of September, the same year. After his death the see was vacant three years.

Thomas Bickley, s. t. p. and warden of Merton-college, Oxford, was consecrated to this see. He was born at Stow, in Buckinghamshire, but being educated at Magdalen-school, Oxford, while he was choirister there, became at length a scholar and fellow of the house. In the beginning of king Edward the sixth's reign, he was made the king's chaplain, and recommended by the university to be one of that king's preachers at Windsor, where he shewed himself forward and zealous for the reformation then beginning. The Roman catholicks hated him much upon that account, and those that were not against a reformation, were not much pleased with his over hastiness; whereupon, when queen Mary came to
the

the throne, he found it necessary for him to leave his college, and go into a voluntary exile. He fled into France, and there spent most of that queen's reign, in study at Paris and Orleans, where he improved himself much in learning, and the French tongue. He returned into England a little after the queen's death, and being made chaplain to archbishop Parker, he soon after was preferred by doctor Benham, bishop of Litchfield, to the arch-deaconry of Stafford, and a prebend of Litchfield, and at length by the arch-bishop's means, was put into the mastership of Merton-college, which he governed most commendably twenty years. Being then near eighty years of age, he was offered this see, and not very willingly accepted of it by reason of his age, yet being over-persuaded (for he was not covetous of honours) he was installed March 3, 1585, and held it eleven years, much beloved and honoured in his diocese. He dyed at Aldingbourn, April 30, 1596, æt. 90, and was buried in his cathedral, under a decent monument, with a large inscription, in Wood's Athenæ, vol. I. p. 614. By his last will he gave forty pounds for the ceiling and paving of Magdalen-school, and one hundred pounds to Merton-

college, to buy lands, of five pounds per annum, to be given to one of the fellows that studied divinity, to preach a public sermon, which after his death was ordered to be given to a preacher, in Merton-college church, on May-day yearly, as it still continues, before the university; and some other legacies for pious uses. To him succeeded

Anthony Watson, who had been fellow of Bennet-college, Cambridge, and was at the time of his election to this see, chancellor of the church of Wells, and dean of Bristol. He was consecrated August 15, 1596, but was allowed for some time to keep his deanry with his bishoprick. Queen Elizabeth being offended with doctor Fletcher, made him her almoner, as he continued part of king James the first's reign. He died at his house at Cheam in Surry, and was buried in the church there, September 1605. He lived a single life, as his predecessor had done, and by his will gave 100*l*. to Christ's college in Cambridge, and some other legacies.

Lancelot Andrews, doctor of divinity, and dean of Westminster, succeeded him; and was consecrated November 3, 1605. He was the most eminent divine of his time; and on that account was

soon

soon more highly preferred, being removed to Ely, four years after; yet while he sat in this see he was singled out by king James I. to be one of those eminent preachers, and sound churchmen, who were to preach before that king at Hampton-court, for the conviction of the two Melvins, and other presbyterians, in the truth of the doctrine and discipline of the church of England.

Samuel Harsnet, doctor of divinity, and arch-deacon of Colchester, succeeded him. He was educated at Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, of which he was fellow, and at length master, and from thence preferred to this see, anno 1609, where, after ten years stay, he was removed to Norwich, and then to York.

George Charleton, born at Norham in Northumberland, who being a boy of pregnant parts, was educated by the care of the northern apostle, Bernard Gilpin, who placed him in the university of Oxford, and supported him there. After he had taken his degree in arts, he was elected fellow of Merton-college, in which while he remained, he had the reputation of an excellent orator and poet; and after applying himself to divinity, became so eminent

therein, that Camden extols him above all in his time, for his singular knowledge in that holy science : we do not find that he had any preferments before he was made bishop of Landaff, because he sought to deserve them, rather than have them, too seldom the case in these matters ; however, being brought into public, his learning became so conspicuous, that he was sent the same year by king James I. to the synod of Dort, where he acquitted himself so well to the credit of the nation, that the king preferred him to this see, upon his return in 1619. He was a person well read in the fathers, and schoolmen, and of a solid judgment, but a severe Calvinist, and a bitter enemy to the Papists, as his writings, which were many, do most of them show ; and more particularly his answer to doctor Montague's appeal and sermon. He lived to a good old age, and dying in May 1628, was buried in the choir of his cathedral at Chichester, near the altar. He left a son, Henry Charleton, but he proved no good friend to bishops, for being a member of the parliament that met November 3, 1640, he was a captain to keep them from sitting.

Richard

Richard Montague, upon his death, was elected into this see, and consecrated by the arch-bishop at Croydon, in 1628. He was born at Dorney, in Buckinghamshire, educated at Eton, and became fellow of King's college, Cambridge. He passed through a variety of preferments before he was bishop, for he was chaplain to king James I. prebendary of Wells, arch-deacon and dean of Hereford, canon of Windsor, fellow of Eton-college, and rector of Petworth. He continued ten years in this see, and being well known by king James to be a person very well versed in the fathers and ancient monuments of the Christian church, was commanded by that prince, as the fittest person then known, to review and purge the church history, which had been corrupted lately by Baronius, and other Roman catholick writers, which he accordingly undertook; great labour and pains he spent in this work, both while he remained in this see, and when he was afterwards removed to Norwich; for though he was in his last years much afflicted with a quartan ague, yet he never gave over writing. He died anno 1641, and left great heaps of papers fairly written with his own hand, concerning ecclesiastical history; but into
whose

whose hands they fell, or what became of them after his death, is not known: for they have not yet appeared in public.

Brian Duppa, or de Uphough, succeeded in this see, 1638. He was educated at Westminster-school, and from thence being elected to Christ's church, Oxford, he became a student there, and at length dean. Having taken his doctor's degree in divinity, he was made chaplain to the prince Palatine, chancellor to the church of Salisbury, and at length tutor to prince Charles, (afterwards king Charles II.) which proved his greatest happiness, for soon after he was presented to the rich parsonage of Petworth, and elected to this see of Chichester, which he held some time together. In 1641, he was translated to Salisbury; but episcopacy being presently silenced, he fled to the king to Oxford, and left him not 'till his death; after which he retired to Richmond, in Surry, where he spent his time in great devotion, 'till the restoration of king Charles II. who gave him the see of Winchester soon after.

Henry King was made bishop of Chichester upon the removal of doctor Duppa to Salisbury. He had the latter part of his school education at Westminster,

minster, and from thence was elected student of Christ's church in 1608. Having taken his degrees, and entered into holy orders, he became a florid preacher, and was successively preferred to be chaplain to king James I. arch-deacon of Colchester, residentiary of saint Paul's, and at length dean of Rochester in 1638. In 1641 he was made bishop of this see, where he continued to his death, saving that the long parliament gave him, as it did the other bishops, a quietus for nineteen years. He lived to king Charles the second's restoration, and recovered his see again, which he governed nine years to his death, which happened October 1, 1669. During the time of his suspension, he lived for the most part with sir Richard Hobart, who married his sister, and was maintained by him in a manner. He is said to have been always puritanically affected, and for that reason to have at first been preferred to this diocese; but however that be, he was certainly a person of an unblemished reputation, and from the time of his return to his diocese, highly esteemed both by the clergy and gentry, being looked upon as the epitome of all honours, virtues, and generous nobleness, and a man never to be forgotten by his tenants and the poor,

poor. He preached the funeral sermon of doctor Duppa with great applause, and hath left many valuable books of his writing, in print. He was buried in his cathedral of Chichester, on the south-side of the choir near the altar; and an handsome monument soon after set over his grave by his widow, who married doctor Millington, the king's physician.

Peter Gunning succeeded doctor king, and was consecrated to this see March 6, 1669. He had his school education at Canterbury, and at the university he was first placed at Clare-hall, Cambridge, where he was made fellow, and being master of arts took upon him the cure of Little St. Mary's, by Peterhouse. About this time the grand rebellion began, and he in zeal to the church, openly declared against that prevailing faction; and was not afraid in a sermon in Great St. Mary's church, to urge the university to protest against the rebellious league then making. When the covenant was put to him, he resolutely refused to take it; and so was thrown out of his fellowship, yet not without such opposition as he was able to give, viz. "An Antidote against taking the Covenant," which was soon after published. From Cambridge he, and some other
ejected

ejected fellows, fled to Oxford, his majesty's chief quarters at that time, and was entertained by doctor Pink and Mr. Jasper Main, the former of whom made him a chaplain of New-college, and the latter his curate at Cassington near by, which he held 'till the surrender of Oxford to the parliament. After this he became tutor to the lord Hatton and sir Francis Compton, and last of all chaplain to sir Robert Shirley, who admiring his learning and arguing faculty in silencing a Popish priest in several disputations, settled 100*l.* a year upon him for life. After sir Robert's death (which he suffered in the Tower for his loyalty) he kept up a congregation in Exeter-house, in the Strand, where he read the English liturgy, preached, and administered sacraments according to the order of the church of England, in spite of all opposition from the enemies of it; and so continued 'till the king's restoration: when his zeal and constancy met with a just reward; for he was not only minister of Cotesmore, in Rutlandshire, and Stoke-Brewen, in Northamptonshire, but prebendary of Canterbury, master, first of Corpus Christi-college, and then of saint John's, in Cambridge, Margaret professor of divinity, and after the
death

death of doctor Tuckney, regius—from whence he was chosen to this see, and consecrated March 6, 1669, in which see he continued 'till the death of doctor Lancy, bishop of Ely, which happenning in the latter end of 1674, he was removed from hence to that see.

Ralph Brideake succeeded him in this see. He was bred in New-college, Oxford, where he was pro-chaplain, and corrector of the press; in which place he pleased doctor Thomas Jackson president of Christ-church college, (whose books were then printing) so well, that he preferred him to be school-master of Manchester free-school. Here he got into the earl of Derby's favour, and was made his chaplain, to the great satisfaction of himself and family. When Latham-house was besieged by the parliament forces, he was in it all the time, and did good service; and when the king's cause declined, he stuck close to the earl and his family, and managed their estate. When his lord, James earl of Derby, was taken by the parliament forces, and was in danger of losing his life, he solicited Lenthall, the speaker, with so much application and reason, that Lenthall, though he could not save his lord's life, was so far in love with his
briskness,

briskness and parts, that he made him his chaplain, and soon after preacher of the Rolls, and at length rector of Witney in Oxfordshire, where in praying, preaching, and catechising every Lord's day in the evening, he out-did all the godly brethren thereabouts, as he did also when he obtained the living of saint Bartholomew, near the Exchange, London. When the king came in, he, by his artful industry, got to be one of his chaplains, and a canon of Windsor, after which he became doctor of divinity, rector of Standish, in Lancashire, dean of Salisbury, and at length, by the interest of the dutchess of Portsmouth, bishop of this see, to which he was consecrated April 18, 1675. He held his canonry of Windsor with his bishoprick to his death, which happened as he was visiting his diocese, October 5, 1678. He was buried in Bray's chapel, in Windsor-castle, and an handsome monument was put up over him soon after by his wife.

Guy Carleton succeeded him; born at Bramton-foot, in Gilsland, educated in grammar at Carlisle, and in higher learning in Queen's college, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow; and in 1635, bore the office of one of the proctors of the university.

sity. Before the civil wars he was vicar of Bucklesbury, near Newbury, in Berkshire, but upon the open rupture between the king and parliament, he took part with the king, and so had his share in sufferings with other royalists. After king Charles the second's restoration, he became doctor of divinity, dean of Carlisle, and prebendary of Durham, all which, but the last, he left when he was made bishop of Bristol, in 1671, where having remained seven years, he was translated to this see of Chichester 1678, in which he continued about the same space of time. He died in the city of Westminster, during his attendance in the parliament, July 6, 1685, and was succeeded in this see by

John Lake, doctor of divinity, in August 1685; born in Yorkshire, and educated in saint John's college, Cambridge, from whence removing, he went through divers preferments before he came to this see; for he was rector of saint Botolph's church, near Bishopgate, London, rector of Prestwick in Cheshire, to which he was instituted October 17, 1668, prebendary of Friday-Thorp in the church of York, in which city he was a preacher for some time, and there obtained the arch-deaconry of Clieveland,

October

October 13, 1680. Two years after this, viz. in 1682, he was nominated by William earl of Derby, to the see of Man, and in December consecrated to it; but before he had continued two years in it he was elected to the see of Bristol, to which he was consecrated in Bow-church, London, September 1, 1684, but was scarce well settled, when, by the death of doctor Carleton, he was called to the succession of this see. While he presided here, king James II. put out his declaration of liberty of conscience for all sorts of dissenters to the established church; and ordered that it should be published by the incumbents of all parishes throughout England; which the bishops were generally averse to, and agreed to put up a petition to the king to recall the order; and to avoid giving offence, subscribed it only with seven hands, of which this bishop was one. The king was much displeased with this action, and having consulted such as told him it was a scandalous libel against his majesty and his government, imprisoned him, with six other bishops, in the Tower, June 8, 1688. They soon procured their release, but it was not long before they fell under other hardships; for the prince of Orange being invited over

to restrain the violent proceedings of king James to bring in Popery, and for that end settled on the throne; when the oath of allegiance to him was tendered them, this bishop refused it, (as did most of the rest) and was deprived. He died August 1689, and his see before his death was given to

Simon Patrick, doctor of divinity, dean of Peterborough, and minister of Covent-Garden, London; he was bred in Queen's college, Cambridge, where he was fellow, and at length elected master; but doctor Anthony Sparrow, who had been ejected in 1643, got it from him by a mandamus, whereupon he returned to Battersea, his living, but was soon removed from thence to Covent-Garden, and while he was there obtained several preferments, viz. to be chaplain to king Charles II. sub-dean of Westminster, and dean of Peterborough. At the revolution in 1689, upon the deprivation of doctor Lake, he was promoted to this see, where he remained about two years, and then was transferred to the bishoprick of Ely. He hath written many theological discourses, which shew him to have been a very learned divine, and an orthodox church of England man. Upon his translation to Ely,

Robert

Robert Grove, doctor of divinity, of Cambridge, was chosen his successor, and consecrated to it August 30, 1691, by doctor Tillotson, then arch-bishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Winchester, Sarum, &c. in Bow-church, London. He died of a broken leg September 29, in the sixty-second year of his age.

John Williams, doctor of divinity, prebendary of Canterbury, after the death of bishop Grove, was advanced to this see, December 13, 1696.

Thomas Manningham, doctor of divinity, rector of saint Andrew's, in Holborn, was consecrated the 13th of November, 1709. He enjoyed this bishoprick several years, died the 24th of August, 1722, and was buried in saint Andrew's, Holborn, being succeeded by

Thomas Bowers, doctor of divinity, and prebendary of Canterbury, was consecrated November 19, 1722, who living in it but a short time, left it to

Edward Waddington, doctor of divinity, fellow of Eton-college, and rector of All-hallows the Great, in the city of London, was installed into this see November 7, 1724, which he held only seven years, and dying in 1731, left behind him the most endear-

ing character of unaffected piety, primitive simplicity of manners, and well directed munificence to the utmost extent of his ability. He was succeeded by

Francis Hare, s. t. p. who was confirmed the 3d of December of the same year, and sat here something more than eight years—and

Matthias Mawson, s. t. p. was installed the 25th day of October, 1740, and filled this see with great reputation between thirteen and fourteen years, to the year 1754, when

Sir William Ashburnham, baronet, s. t. p. of Broomham, in this county, and nearly related to the earl of Ashburnham, was consecrated and confirmed therein, in the month of October of the same year. This worthy prelate's reputation stands not in need of the accidental blaze of heraldry; but rests on the more honourable, at least the more amiable, foundation of personal merit; and every virtue which confers dignity on the man and lustre on the Christian. He sat here almost forty-three years, a longer space than any of his predecessors have done: died in Chichester at the advanced age of eighty-seven years, on the 4th day of September, 1797, and was buried in the
family

family vault of his forefathers at Broomham.* The present bishop is

John Buckner, D. D. who was consecrated A. D. 1798, and installed the 28th of March, in the same year.

In the preceeding list many of the prelates were men of exemplary piety, and considerable learning, for the times in which they lived. They were the fathers of the city, and of the diocese over which they presided. Such were bishops Ralph, Seffrid II. Ralph Neville, John de Langton, John Arundel, Edward Story, and many others; some of them benefactors to the kingdom in general, patrons of learning, and the ornaments of the age in which they lived. Many other dignitaries of this church,

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inferior

* On the 16th day of December, 1800, his brother, the reverend Mr. Charles Ashburnham, departed this life at an advanced age. A gentleman, whose unassuming merit, and goodness of heart, procured him the respect and love of all who had the happiness to know him; whose assiduity in searching for and relieving distress, gained him the approbation and esteem of all who knew him. It is an unfortunate circumstance that in recording the virtues of the good, truth can say nothing of them that partiality, and sometimes worse motives, cannot say of the undeserving. The above character of Mr. Ashburnham, far from exaggeration—is less than his real merit.

inferior indeed to these in name and honour, were inferior to few, if any, in piety and worth. Such was Bruno Ryves, dean of Chichester. Such was doctor William Cox, doctor James Marsh, arch-deacon, doctor Henshaw, dean, doctor William Paul, doctor Henry Hammond, arch-deacon, Mr. Gregory, prebendary, and the late learned and pious William Clarke, canon-residentiary. To these may be added with propriety, and could not be omitted but with great impropriety, doctor William Hayley, and doctor Thomas Hayley, both deans of Chichester, the latter the grand-father of the present William Hayley, esqr. of whom, though I am inhibited, by his strict injunction, from saying any thing; yet surely I may, without offence, repeat the voice of fame concerning those departed worthies, that they well deserved all the lustre that their descendent can reflect on their memories, how great soever that lustre may be.

To many of the clergy of this diocese, and no doubt of others, the great and sudden change of the times, after 1793, proved very distressing. As the price of all the necessaries of life rose to a very alarming height, it was natural for them to wish to raise the rents of their freeholds, in some degree of proportion

proportion with the other. In many places their endeavours were resisted with the most determinate opposition. The alarm was sounded in the parishes, meetings were called, and combinations formed to frustrate their reasonable intentions; and that too by men of great worth, as far as property could make them so. This is not a supposed case; nor a statement built on doubtful report, but rests on the strongest and most *convincing* authority!

THE DEANS.

1115 Richard	1262 Walter of Glocester
1125 Matthew	1280 William de Bracklesham
1144 Richard	1296 Thomas de Berghstede
1158 William	1299 William de Grenefeld
1172 John de Greneford	1316 John de Sancto Leofardo
1176 Jordan de Meleburn	1332 Henry de Garland
1180 Seffride	1342 Walter de Segrave
1180 Matthew	1356 William of Lynne
1190 Nicholas de Aquila	1369 Roger de Freton
1196 Ralph	1383 Richard Le Scrope
1197 Seffride	1400 John de Maydenhith
1220 Simon	1410 Henry Lovel
1230 Walter	1415 Richard Talbot
1232 Thomas of Lichfield	1420 William Milton
1250 Geoffrey	1425 John Patten

1434 John Hasele	1634 Richard Stewart
1478 John Waynflete	1660 Bruno Ryves
1481 John Cloos	1660 Joseph Henshaw
1501 Robert Pychard	1663 Joseph Gluston
1503 Galfridus Symeon	1669 Nathaniel Crew
1526 John Young	1671 Lambroth Thomas
1526 William Fleshsmonger	1672 George Stradling
1543 Richard Caurden	1688 Francis Hawkins
1549 Giles Eyer	1699 William Hayley
1553 Bartholomew Traheron	1715 Thomas Sherlock
1553 William Pye	1728 John Newey
1558 Hugh Turnbull	1735 Thomas Hayley
1566 Richard Curteys	1739 James Hargraves
1570 Anthony Rushe	1742 Sir William Ashburnham
John Boxhall	1754 Thomas Ball
1577 Martin Culpepper	1770 Charles Harward
1601 William Thorne	1790 Combe Miller, the pre- sent Dean
1630 Francis Dee	

CHAPTER XXVIII.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE NATIVES OF THIS COUNTY
WHO WERE ILLUSTRIOUS IN THEIR TIME FOR THEIR BIRTH,
MILITARY EXPLOITS, LITERATURE, &c.

HERBERT de BOSHAM was born at Bosham, and being a good scholar and a ready scribe, was first appointed amanuensis and afterwards private secretary to Thomas Becket, arch-bishop of Canterbury. He was present at his murther, but did not venture to make any resistance for fear of sharing the same fate. He wrote several books, among which we reckon the history of his master's untimely end. He went into Italy, and was by the pope, Alexander III. raised to the dignity of bishop of Beneventum, and soon after, in 1178, to that of cardinal; but of what title my author does not say, nor the exact date of his death.

Lawrence Somercote—Bale says (de Scrip. Brit.) was born in the south-part of the kingdom:
and

and as he was canon of Chichester, it may fairly be concluded that he was a native of this county. Here under the ablest masters, he studied logic and rhetoric ; and applied himself to the study of the law, in which he arrived at great eminence. Going to Rome he was made sub-deacon under the pope, by the interest of his kinsman Robert Somercote, cardinal. He wrote several books in French and Latin, and flourished A. D. 1240.

John Driton, according to Bale, was “ *ex illustri quadam familia Angliæ procreatus.*” He signed himself John de Arida Villa, and sometimes de Sicca Villa, (Sackville) from whence I conclude him to have been a native of this county. According to the fashion of that time, he finished his education in France ; and became “ *Summus Gymnasij Moderator,*” at Paris. At that time the attention of the learned was engaged by a book called “ *The Eternal Gospel,*” the fabrication of two delirious monks, Joachim and Cyril—the pope maintained the authenticity of this spurious gospel, and anathematized its impugnors as heretics ; among the principal of whom was John Driton, or Sicca Villa. At last, though upheld by the infallible decision of saint Peter’s

Peter's successor, this eternal gospel sunk into eternal and deserved silence. He flourished A. D. 1260.

Thomas Arundel, born at Arundel, was son of Robert Fitz-Allen, earl of Arundel. At the early age of twenty-two years he was made bishop of Ely, (Vide Godwin) and soon afterwards arch-bishop of York; and in 1396 raised to Canterbury. He was three times lord chancellor of England, in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. When his brother Richard earl of Arundel, was cruelly and unjustly brought to the block, by king Richard II. the arch-bishop was banished, and would have undergone the same fate as his brother, if his order and mitre had not saved his head.—Few noblemen, perhaps none, at any period of our history, left behind them a better character than Richard earl of Arundel: that of the arch-bishop was not equally amiable. He was the first who persecuted the Lollards, or Wickliffites, with fire and faggots. Perhaps he did so from principle: however that may be, his actions in that respect cannot be defended. Fuller says of him “ He “ who had stopped the mouths of so many servants “ of God from preaching his word, was himself “ famished to death by a swelling (and inflammation) “ in

“ in his throat.” He died A. D. 1413, and was buried in his cathedral at Canterbury.

Robert Winchelsey was born in the town of that name in this county. He learned grammar, &c. in the country ; from thence he went and studied at Merton-college, Oxford, and afterwards at Paris—where he became rector of the university. Returning to England, and to Oxford, he there became doctor of divinity, and afterwards chancellor thereof. He was successively canon of saint Paul’s, London, arch-deacon of Essex, and arch-bishop of Canterbury.—His pall he received from the hands of pope Celestine.* He refused a cardinal’s cap, which was offered him ; and returning to Canterbury was there solemnly enthroned ; and on the same day consecrated one bishop, bestowed twelve rich benefices on twelve doctors, and twelve meaner livings on as many bachelors in divinity. Confiding in the canon of the council of Lyons, he forbade the clergy to pay any taxes to princes, without the consent of the pope ;

* This is the Celestine, formerly an Eremite, whom a certain cardinal (who succeeded him by the name of Boniface VIII.) persuaded by a voice from a hollow trunk, to resign his popedom, and return into the wilderness ; which he accordingly did. See Fuller’s Worthies, p. 102.

pope; and thereby created much molestation to himself: as the king (Edward I.) used him very harshly on that account. He overcome all, at last, by his patience. On the main he was a worthy prelate; an excellent preacher; and being learned himself, he loved and preferred learned men. His hospitality was prodigious; it is reported that on Sundays and Fridays, he fed no fewer than four thousand men, when corn was cheap; and five thousand when it was dear: and (says Fuller) that it may not be said that his bounty was greater than my belief, I give credit thereunto. His charity went home to those who could not come for it, sending it to them who were absent on account of sickness or other unavoidable hindrance. He died at Otteford, the 11th of May, 1313, and was buried in his own cathedral.— Though he was not canonized by the pope, yet he was sainted by the poor, who were wont to repair in vast numbers to his tomb, and pray to him.

Thomas Bradwardine was descended of an ancient family at Bradwardine, in Herefordshire, who removed from thence and settled themselves for three generations in this county. This Thomas was born in or near Chichester. He was bred fellow of Merton

Merton-college, where he became a great mathematician, and so learned a divine, that he was commonly called doctor Profundus. Dryden, treating of predestination, says,

“ I cannot bolt this matter to the bran,
“ As Bradwardine and holy Austin can.”

He was confessor to Edward III. and in the camp constantly inculcated industry to the officers, obedience to the common soldiers, to all humility in prosperity, and patience in adversity; exhorting them to be pious towards God, dutiful to the king, and merciful to their prisoners. After the death of Strafford, being made arch-bishop of Canterbury, he received his consecration from the pope at Avignon; and owed his advancement merely to his merit. But that which chiefly recommends his name to posterity is the very famous book which he wrote, called “*De Causa Dei*,” wherein speaking of Pelagius, he says, in the second book, “*Totus pœne mundus, et timco et doleo, post hunc abiit, et erroribus suis favet.*” (I fear and lament that almost the whole world has run after him, and favours his errors.) He was the champion of grace in opposition to the defenders of free-will. He died at Lambeth, in October, 1349.

Thomas

Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorset, son and heir to sir Richard Sackville, (chancellor and privy counsellor to queen Elizabeth) was educated at the university of Oxford, where he made great proficiency in learning; as his poems, both Latin and English, bear witness. He studied the law in the Temple, where he took the degree of barrister. While a student there, he wrote a tragedy, called "Ferrex and Porrex," (many years before Shakespear's plays were known) which was acted, with great applause, before the queen, by the gentlemen of the Inner-Temple, at Whitehall, 18th of January, 1561. Soon after this he set out on his travels, and was detained sometime a prisoner at Rome. On procuring his liberty, he returned to England to take possession of the vast estate left him by his father, which in a few years he greatly reduced by the magnificence of his manner of living: from which he was seasonably reclaimed, partly by his own reflections, and partly by the friendly admonitions of the queen, to whom he was related. On the 8th of June he received the degree and dignity of a baron of this realm, by the title of baron Buckhurst, in the county of Sussex, the place of his nativity. In 1572, he was sent ambassador
into

into France, and in 1586, in the same capacity, into the Low-Countries, (i. e. to the Dutch.) In 1589, he was made knight of the garter; and in 1599, treasurer of England—and lastly, in the first or second year of king James, was created earl of Dorset. So that if he was guilty of prodigality in the early part of his life, he afterwards made ample amends for the same; and brought an increase both of estate and honour to the very antient and honourable family to which he belonged. He died suddenly, at the council table, at Whitehall, the 19th day of April, 1608; his remains were deposited with great solemnity in Westminster-abbey; his funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Abbot, afterwards arch-bishop of Canterbury.

Sir John Jeffrey, knight, (not the infamous lord chancellor under James II.) was born in this county; the particular place my author does not mention. His first advancement was to be secondary judge of the Common-pleas, from which he was raised, in the nineteenth year of queen Elizabeth, to be chief baron of the Exchequer: which place he filled with much reputation two years. He died in the year 1580, leaving only one child, a daughter Elizabeth, his heiress, who married Robert Bertie, earl of Lindsey.

The

The Abbot of Battle—I cannot (says Fuller) trace either his christian or surname in any of our chronicles which I have seen—but his worth and merits deserve to be recorded. The languid state of government in this kingdom, in the reign of Richard the second, invited the French to land here; pillaging the country, and carrying away the inhabitants as prisoners; till they should be ransomed. Among these, in 1301, they made the prior of Lewes prisoner. No wonder, says my author, if the abbot was startled at the intelligence, according to the proverb of those days—

“ Whare the abbot of Battle,

“ When the prior of Lewes is taken prisoner.”

Whereupon he raised the posse comitatus, and putting it in as good a posture of defence as the time would permit, marched to Winchelsea, and fortified it. Thither the French followed him, and besieged the place, in hope to have made themselves masters of it: till perceiving the country rising, and fearing to be surrounded and cut off, they abandoned the enterprise, and returned to their ships as expeditiously as they could.—I regard, says Fuller, this abbot as the saviour not only of Sussex, but of England:

for if the French had not been made to feel the smart, as well as taste the sweets of English plunder, our land would never have been free from their incursions.

Sir William Pelham, knight, a native of this county, whose antient and wealthy family had long flourished therein, on account of his great prudence and valour was employed by queen Elizabeth, first in Ireland, where he acted as lord chief justice, between the death of sir William Drury, and the coming of lord Arthur Gray, as lieutenant thereof—and secondly, in the Low-countries, A. D. 1586, where he commanded the English cavalry.—It is supposed he survived not long after, as we meet with no further mention of his valour and courage.

William Pemble was a native of this county; and received his education from the bounty of John Baker, of Mayfield, esquire, wherein he excelled so much that he reflected a lustre on his generous patron. He was bred in Magdalen-hall, in Oxford: where he gave lectures, which were attended by the gravest and most learned in the university. He was an excellent orator; but his highest praise is, that he “unfeignedly sought God’s glory, and the good of mankind.” While he was preparing his lectures
on

on the prophecy of Zachariah, and had finished nine chapters, he was attacked with a fever, which put an end to his valuable life in the flower of his age. He wrote several books—his “*Vindiciæ Fidei*,” or his treatise of justification by faith, was so firmly fixed in his heart, that on his death-bed he said that he would die in the persuasion of justification by the righteousness of Christ only. He died a zealous Calvinist, at Eton, near Gloucester, A. D. 1623, and lies buried in the yard belonging to the church there, on the north-side, under the yew-tree.

Thomas Chune, esquire, was a native of Sussex, and lived at Alfriston. The principal thing that I find recorded of him is, that he was a worthy man, and published a small manual, called “*Collectiones Theologicarum Conclusionum*,” A. D. 1635.

Thomas May, the dramatic poet, was born in this county, in the year 1597, and educated a fellow commoner, at Sidney-college, Cambridge, where he sedulously applied himself to the improvement of his mind. He afterwards lived in Westminster, and at court; where he was not taken notice of according to his merit, at least according to his expectation. He translated Lucan into English, the Georgics

of Virgil, with annotations, and in the beginning of the civil wars, wrote an history of England. He died suddenly in the year 1652, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and was buried, near Mr. Camden, in the west-side of the north-aisle of Westminster-abbey.

George Martin, born at Mayfield, in this county, (Vide Fuller) was bred a fellow of saint John's college, Oxford. He was chosen by Thomas duke of Norfolk, to be tutor to his son, Philip earl of Arundel, and faithfully discharged that important charge. He was a staunch Roman catholic, and wrote several treatises in defence of that system; the principal of which is (or rather was) called "A detection of the corruptions in the English Bible." He was professor of divinity in the English college at Rheims, where he died A. D. 1582.

Thomas Stapleton, of the same religious persuasion, was born at Henfield, in this county, bred at New-college, Oxford, and (by bishop Christopher-son) made canon of this church, which he quitted on the accession of queen Elizabeth to the throne; and fixed his residence at Douay, in France; where he performed the important office of catechist. He died and was buried at Louvain, anno 1598.

John,

John, Henry, and Thomas Palmer, not twin, (but trin) sons of Edward Palmer of Angmering, in this county. According to doctor Fuller—"their mother was a full fortnight in labour, and on Whitsunday was delivered of John, her eldest son, on the Sunday following of Henry, and on the Sunday next after of Thomas, her third son. These three were knighted for their valour, by Henry the eighth, (who never laid his sword on the shoulders of any who was not a man) so that they appear as remarkable in their success as their nativities. The truth whereof needs no other attestation than the general and uncontrolled tradition of their numerous and respectable posterity, in Sussex and Kent. Among whom I reckon (says the doctor) sir Roger Palmer, aged eighty years, lately deceased, cofferer to the king, (Charles I.) who averred to me the truth thereof, on his reputation. The exact date of the death of these knights, I cannot attain."

Leonard Mascall, of Plumsted, Sussex, was the first who brought into England carps and pippins, according to his own account, in his book on fishing, fowling, and planting. He lived in the time

of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. The year of his death is unknown.

William Withers, born at Walsham, in this county, in the year 1570—at the age of eleven years, lay in a trance for ten days, without any sustenance; and at last, “coming to himself,” uttered many strange speeches, inveighing against pride, covetousness, and other sins. But let the credit hereof (says Fuller) be charged to my author.—(Holingshed, p. 1315.)

Nicholas Hostresham, or Horsham—his name declares the place of his nativity. He was a learned man, and a physician of very great repute among the nobility, and men of learning, in the reign of Henry VI. In his practice, contrary to the usage of those days, he paid a particular regard to the constitution, habits, temper, &c. of his patients. He wrote many books, enumerated by Bale and Pitz; one of which, “*Contra dolorem Renum*,” (of the diseases of the kidneys) begins thus “*Lapis quandoque generatur in renibus*,” i. e. the stone sometimes is generated in the kidneys. And as the doctor never travelled out of the kingdom, this overthrows the assertion that the stone was never known in
England

England before the use of hops in beer, as they were not introduced here and used in brewing before the year 1525, and according to Mr. Anderson's account, in three years time prohibited as an ingredient in beer, as the physicians represented them to parliament to be unwholesome, and of nephritic tendency.

The family of Shirley was of considerable standing in this and the adjoining county of Surry; for both of which sir Randolph Shirley served the office of sheriff, in the nineteenth year of the reign of the seventh Henry; as did Richard Shirley, esqr. in the seventeenth of his son Henry VIII.—sir Francis Shirley in the fifteenth, and Thomas Shirley, esquire, in the nineteenth of Elizabeth—and sir John Shirley the fourteenth of James I.—The following account of this family is copied literally from the ms. notes of Mr. Clarke—“ Memorandums of the Shirleys from
 “ the monuments in Isfield church—John Shirley,
 “ esquire, chief clerk of the kitchen to Henry VII.
 “ and cofferer to Henry VIII. died 1526.—Edward
 “ Shirley, son of the said John, cofferer to Henry
 “ VIII. died 1558.—Thomas Shirley, son of the said
 “ Edward, married Anne, daughter of sir Nicholas
 “ Pelham, of Laughton, by Anne, sister of sir Nicholas

“ Sackville ; died 1579.—Sir John Shirley, knight,
 “ married a daughter of sir Thomas Shirley of Wiston,
 “ had to his second wife, a daughter of George
 “ Goring, of Dany, aunt to the lord Goring—he died
 “ 1647.—In this church, under a monument of the
 “ Shirleys, is a flat stone, part covered by the wall,
 “ where this part of an inscription is still legible—

“ *Stirps candida Ducum, decus ævi nobile germen*

“ *Intulit ecclesiis Anglorum balsama merum,*” &c.

The before-mentioned Thomas Shirley had a grandson, sir Thomas, who was a great sufferer for king Charles I. and a great-grandson, an eminent doctor of physic, in the service of king Charles II. who is reported to have died of grief, on his being deprived of an estate of 3000*l.* a year, by sir John Fagge, bart.

John de Camois, lord of the barony of Broadwater, was born at Broadwater, about the middle of the thirteenth century, in the reign of Henry III. He married Margaret, daughter and sole heiress of sir John Gatesden, knight, but perceiving in her conduct a partiality to sir William Paynell, knight, and suspecting a criminal connection to be between them, he, by a regular deed of conveyance, gave and granted to the said sir William, his wife Margaret,
 and

and all the goods, chattels, and property of every kind, which he had received, or should hereafter receive, on her account, with every right, interest, and property, he had in, and to the said Margaret, from henceforth and for ever.—This lady, though the time of her appearance on this mortal stage was full five hundred years ago, when that species of gallantry was not so much in fashion as now, would have made no contemptible figure in the present day; for by her future conduct, she showed that Mr. Camois' suspicion of her criminality was not ill founded. She cohabited with sir William, and was afterwards married to him.—Mr. Camois lived several years after this transaction, and died about the year 1300, leaving the lady his survivor; who thereupon claimed her dowery, or the third part of the estate Mr. Camois died possessed of. From the courts of law, where her claim was not admitted, she and sir William, moved her cause to a parliament which was holden at Westminster, A. D. 1302. In this supreme court, the opposite council pleading a statute, then existing, which militated against her claim; it was decreed and enacted that if a wife forsake her husband, and live in adultery with another man, she shall for ever

ever forfeit her dowery; unless her husband without ecclesiastical coercion, be reconciled to her, and live with her again.

Doctor Andrew Borde, (the original merry-andrew) of facetious and eccentric memory, was born at Pevensey, in this county; towards the end of the fifteenth century: educated at Winchester-college, and completed his education at New-college, in Oxford; where, for several years, he applied very closely and successfully to the study of physic. Leaving Oxford, he is said to have travelled into every kingdom in Europe; and to have visited several places in Africa. At Montpelier in France he took his degree of doctor of physic: and returning to England, was admitted at Oxford to the same honour, in 1521. From Oxford he removed to Pevensey, where he followed his profession some years; and afterwards went to Winchester, in which place it is probable, he resided a considerable time. Here he published his book, called “The Principles of Astronomical Prognostications:” from which it would appear, that he believed in judicial astrology. He was a man of considerable learning for the time in which he lived; and, making allowance likewise
for

for the particular turn of his mind. His writings abound with witticisms, which are said to have pervaded his speech. It appears that that quaint manner of expression was natural to him. He frequented fairs, markets, and other places of public resort: where he used to harrangue the people, in order to increase his practice. He trod an unbeaten path, which was natural to him. He had many followers, or imitators, from whence it came that they who affected the same jocose language and gestures, were called "Merry Andrews," though seldom possessed of the same native humour. He professed himself a Carthusian; lived in celibacy, drank water three days in the week, wore a shirt made of hair, and every night hung his burial sheet at his bed's feet. Though a person of a singular turn of mind, he must have been a man of learning, and strong [natural powers; for he was physician to Henry VIII. and a member of the college of physicians in London.—He was the author of many other books, besides the one mentioned above. That called—The Merry Tales of the Wise Men of Gotham—The Miller of Abingdon, in imitation of Chaucer—The Prompluary of Medicine—The Doctrines of Health—of Urines—

came

came from his pen ; as did also—The Introduction to Knowledge, a poem—“ which doth teach a man “ (according to what he says in the title-page) to “ speak part of all manner of languages, and to “ know the usage and fashion of all manner of “ countries, and for to know the most part of all “ manner of coins of money, which is current in “ every region.” He died a prisoner in the Fleet, London, in April 1549. It is not probable that he was there for debt ; as he left property behind him to a considerable amount, in the county of Norfolk ; which he bequeathed, together with his house and furniture, &c. in Winchester, to a Richard Matthews, whom he appointed his heir ; without mentioning his kindred at all, if he had any.

Sir William Culpeper, baronet, of Wadehurst-park, in the parish of Ardingly, in this county, was the son of sir Edward Culpeper, sheriff of Sussex and Surry, in the third year of the reign of James I. but famous chiefly for his great and successful exertions in reducing the usury or interest of money, from an indeterminate rate to a fixt standard. Before his time it had been customary for the Jews, Lombards and other monied men in the kingdom, to demand
and

and receive the most exorbitant premium for the use and forbearance of money—whereby it frequently happened that respectable families were reduced, in the course of a few years, from affluence to great distress. In his arduous and patriotic undertaking, sir William had to encounter the power and interest of the three descriptions of men just mentioned; but at last his endeavours were crowned with the success that his patience and perseverance deserved.

A. D. 1621—when an act was passed whereby it was enjoined and strictly commanded, that no person, after the 24th of June, 1625, should directly or indirectly take for the loan or use of any monies, wares, goods, &c. above the value of eight pounds, for the forbearance of one hundred pounds for one year; and that every person charging, taking, or accepting more than the said rate of eight pounds per hundred, for a year, shall forfeit the value of the money, &c. so lent. This act was to continue in force for seven years, reckoning from the year 1625: and in the year 1628, the law was made perpetual.—Sir William wrote a treatise on this subject, which was reprinted in 1668, by his son, sir Thomas Culpeper, baronet, who was partly concerned about

the

the same time in effecting a farther legal reduction of the interest of money, to six per cent per annum.

Doctor Thomas Comber, a man of considerable celebrity in his time, was born about the end of the sixteenth century, at Shermanbury, in this county, the twelfth child of Richard Comber, Clarencieux king at arms. He laid the foundation of his knowledge in the learned languages, for which he was afterwards so eminent, at Horsham: from thence he went to Trinity-college, Cambridge, where he was recommended to the patronage of doctor Neville, by whose interest, and his own reputation, as an accomplished grammarian, he was elected master of that college. Being a person of great application, unwearied perseverance, and blessed with an excellent memory, he made himself master of the Greek and Latin languages in an eminent degree; and understood several of the Oriental. He travelled into Italy, Spain, and France; where he was denominated by the literati there “*Vir clarissimus, Thomas Comber, Anglus.*” On his return from his travels, about the year 1623, he was appointed the king’s chaplain, on the recommendation of arch-bishop Abbot; and soon after to the deanry of Carlisle;

on the promotion of doctor White to the bishoprick of that see : and in the year 1631, was chosen vice chancellor of Cambridge. On the breaking out of the civil war in England, he attached himself warmly to the royal cause, and endeavoured with all his might to prevail on the heads of the university to send their plate to his majesty, whose finances were then in a very low condition. As the doctor's endeavours to aid his royal master were discovered, by some means, to the parliament, in return they determined to make him feel the weight of their revenge. They not only stripped him of his all, consisting of his deanry, mastership, and the valuable rectory of Worplesdon, in Surry ; but imprisoned him, A. D. 1642. This hard reverse of fortune, and all the indignities and severities which the Puritans, and afterwards the Independents, could heap upon him, he bore with becoming resignation and exemplary fortitude, till death, on the 28th of February, 1653, delivered him from the malice and cruelty of his persecutors.

Acceptus Fruin, a native of Sussex, was fellow of Magdalen-college, Oxford, and afterwards president thereof, raised by king Charles I. to the mitre

of Coventry and Lichfield, and by king Charles II. to the primacy of York, the 22d of September, 1660. He died the 28th of March, 1664, and was buried in his own cathedral. (Vide Le Neve.) In treating of this county doctor Fuller says, "Many shires have done worthily, but Sussex sumounteth them all; having bred five arch-bishops of Canterbury, and at this instant (February 1661) claiming for her natives the two metropolitans of our nation, doctors Juxon and Fruin."

Philip Nye, the famous Independent preacher, in the time of the civil war in England, was born of a respectable family in this county. Some years before the breaking out of the war, he is said to have been rector of saint Michael's, in Corn-hill, London; and after doctor Featley was sequestered for refusing to sign the solemn league and covenant, he obtained his rectory of Acton, in Middlesex. He was a voluminous writer; many of his productions were published by his sons, John and Henry Nye, after his death. In 1642 or 1643, he published a treatise to prove the excellency of the solemn league and covenant. Being from principle, an Independent in religion, and a Republican in politics, the
government

government of the nation under Cromwell, was not at all to his mind; and on that account, and as age began to advance upon him, he became a more moderate man in the latter part of his life, and published a book to prove the lawfulness of hearing the ministers of the church of England. In what year this was written I do not find; but from the nature of the subject, we may conclude that it was after the Restoration. He died in the month of September, 1672, in the parish of saint Michael, in Corn-hill, and was buried in a vault in that church.

John Pell was born at Southwyke, near Brightelmstone, in this county, in the year 1610. He made himself master of the Greek and Latin languages, at the grammar-school at Lewes, where he also studied the mathematics, in which he became a very great proficient at an early age. He completed his education at Trinity-college, Cambridge: when he was but eighteen years of age he wrote a description of the use of the quadrant: and in a year or two after, he published his "*Modus supputandi Ephemerides Astronomicas*;" thereby evincing his profound knowledge in the mathematics. Before he was twenty-seven years old, his fame, though less than his real merit,

merit, was known in every part of Europe, where learning was respected. At the age of thirty-one he was chosen professor of the mathematics at Amsterdam, without solicitation ; an honourable testimony of his reputation. This appointment was the more agreeable to him as the flame of civil-war had then broken out in England ; and the voice of the Muses drowned in that of Mars. In 1645 or 1646, he removed from Amsterdam to Breda, on his being appointed by the prince of Orange, professor of philosophy and mathematics, at his newly founded academy there. While he resided at Breda he maintained an amicable controversy with the famous Longomontanus, “ concerning the true measure of the circle.” On the breaking out of the war with the Dutch, he returned to England ; and in a year or two after, that is A. D. 1654, was sent by the Protector, with the title of agent, to the Protestant cantons in Switzerland. In this capacity he is reported to have endeavoured to promote the restoration of monarchy, and of the hierarchy, in England. This imputation, whether it was meant as a ground of praise or dispraise, is probable ; for after the Restoration he obtained orders in the church, and was preferred to

two considerable livings in Essex, and the diocese of London. But Mr. Pell was no oeconomist, in consequence of which he died in uneasy circumstances, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, A. D. 1685.

William Juxon, D. D. was born in Chichester, A. D. 1582, and educated at Merchant-Taylor's school, in London; from whence he went to saint John's college, Oxford. Entering there upon the study of the civil-law, he soon made himself master of the Justinian institutions: but did not at the same time neglect the study of other learning, particularly that of divinity, to which he applied, at the desire of his patron, doctor, afterwards arch-bishop, Laud. When he had taken his degree of master of arts, he took orders in the church, and was presented, by his college, to the valuable rectory of Somerton, in Oxfordshire. When doctor Laud, in 1621, was promoted to the see of saint David, Mr. Juxon was chosen master of his college, and vice-chancellor of the university about six years afterwards. In 1632, he was sworn clerk of the closet to the king, by the interest of his patron; and the year following elected bishop of Hereford; but before his consecration, removed to the see of London, void by the transla-

tion of bishop Laud to the primate's chair. Hitherto his preferments were consistent with his learning and his merits; but his patron did not stop there. In 1638, he (bishop Juxon) was appointed lord high treasurer of England: and though it is allowed that no one could find fault with his conduct, in that high office, yet the antient nobility were offended, because they thought the office belonged to them by prescription.—On the meeting of the Long-parliament he resigned all his civil employments. When the king asked his advice, in the affair of lord Strafford, whether he might sign the act of attainder against him, the honest prelate admonished him not to do any thing against the dictates of his conscience. And when that monarch was brought to the scaffold in 1649, he attended him in his last moments.—The same year he was deprived of his bishoprick, and retired to a small estate he had purchased in Gloucestershire; where he remained to the Restoration, when he was translated by the king's mandate, to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury; which he did not enjoy long, for he died under the excruciating tortures of the stone, on the 4th day of June, 1663, in the eighty-first year of his age, and was buried in saint

John's

John's chapel, Oxford.—He was a learned man, a pious divine, a faithful counsellor, an enemy to all persecution, and so inoffensive in his life, that he was suffered to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience—a courtesy then granted to very few.

John Selden, esquire, son of Thomas, and his mother Margaret, the daughter of Thomas Baker, of Russington, in Kent, was born at Salvington, in this county. Grotius, a good judge of learning, stiles him the glory of the English nation. He derived his school learning from the free-school at Chichester, and his university from Hart-hall in Oxford, from whence he removed to the Inner-temple; where he gained so great a knowledge of the law, and antiquities of all sorts, that he became the miracle of his time. It would take up a volume to give a just character of him; we shall only speak something of him, as, first a lawyer—secondly a skilful antiquarian—and thirdly a voluminous writer.—First, as a lawyer, he was very judicious and learned; but that which rendered him most famous and popular in this respect was, the argument which he held with attorney-general Noy, about the granting an habeas

corpus for those gentlemen who were imprisoned for refusing to pay the loan to king Charles I. Every man looked upon him as pleading the common cause of the nation, and esteemed themselves as his clients, conceiving that the liberty of all the nation was concerned in that suit. From this time he had much business in his profession, and though he seldom or never came to the bar, he gave chamber-council, and was much made use of in conveying estates: his knowledge of antiquities, especially in the endowments of monasteries, &c. enabling him to settle, clear, and rectify dubious titles: in this science he wrote several books, as his *Mare Clausum*, in answer to Hugo Grotius's *Mare Liberum*, asserting therein, against Grotius, the king of England's authority over the British seas; for which he was much applauded by the court—*Observations upon Fleta's Tenures*, *Fortescue's Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*, and *De Lacidibus* (the intricacies) *Legum Angliæ*, *History of Tythes*, which comprehends much of the Heathen, Jewish, and Christian learning upon that subject; but so much distorted, that he was forced to recant it before the high commission court, and was convinced of his ill conduct by doctor Filsley, a Civilian,

doctor

doctor Montague, a divine, and Mr. Nettles, a great talmudist ; so that he got no reputation by this work, though he was much admired for others. Notes on the sums of sir Ralph Hengham, lord chief justice in king Henry the first's days ; of the rights and privileges of the baronage of England, and of the office of lord chancellor. He was the readiest man in the kingdom in finding out records, and his arguments of law were much set by.—Secondly, as an antiquarian, he was of so strong a body, and so capacious a memory, partly natural and partly artificial, that he made himself master of most languages, by his industry, so far as to understand them by grammar and dictionary ; and this, after he had entered himself into the Temple ; but he was much more perfect in Hebrew and the Oriental tongues, depending on that, Greek, Latin, and Saxon ; by which he was capaciated to search into all the learning of the world, and did it so effectually, that if ever any man was, he was ignorant of nothing to be gained by reading : of this he gave a full demonstration in these writings—viz. *De Dyssysis, Uxor Hebraica, De Syne-*
drüs, De Jure Naturali, and Gentum juxta Discipli-
num Hæbræorum ; De Successione in Bona defuncti

Secundum Legem Hebræor: De Successione in Pontificatum Hæbræorum ; Marmora Arundeliana ; Spicilegium in Eadmeri, six libros ; Eutychius's Original of the church of Alexandria, &c.—Thirdly, as a writer, though we have given a large catalogue of his works under the former heads, yet there remain so many that may properly be put under this head, and yet of a different nature from the former, that he may seem to have done nothing but write, as well as to have read so much as to have given himself no time to write: of this sort are his books of the Original of Duels; Jam. Anglorum facies altera; Notes and Illustrations upon Michael Drayton's Poliolbion; Titles of Honour; Analecta Anglo-Britannica; Tractatus Gallicus, i. e. De Agendi excipiendique formulis; the preface to the Ten English Historians; God made Man; a Treatise intended to prove the Nativity of our Saviour to have been on December the 25th, as we keep it; a posthumous work, De Nummis, and Biblia Nummaria, both dedicated to sir Simonds D'Ewes; and many others.—He died on saint Andrew's day, 1654, aged seventy years, and was magnificently buried in the Temple-church, Decemder the 14th following. Arch-bishop
Usher

Usher preached his funeral sermon, and because he said not much of his principles of religion, some thought he deserved no commendation in that respect: but as Mr. Johnson, then master of the Temple, said at his interment, if learning would have perpetuated any man's life, he could not have died: so sir Matthew Hale, one of his executors, and afterwards lord chief justice, often professed, that Mr. Selden was a resolved, serious Christian, and that he was such a fierce adversary to Mr. Hobbs's errors, that he always opposed him so earnestly, as either to make Mr. Hobbs fly, or to avoid his company with detestation. He died exceeding wealthy, not only in money and land, but in antient and modern medals and coins of the Roman emperors and English kings. His large, rare, and costly library was bestowed on one of the inns of court, upon condition that they should provide a suitable case for so costly a jewel, i. e. build a fair and firm fabrick for it; but being neglected, it was given to the Bodleian library at Oxford, where it hath an apartment allotted to it.

Thomas Otway, the poet, was the son of a clergyman in this neighbourhood, and born at Trotton, near Midhurst, the 3d of March, 1641. He
entered

entered very young in Winchester-school, and finished his studies in Christ's college, Oxford. At the death of his father he left the university, went to London, and commenced actor, but for want of address did not succeed on the stage. Being esteemed a great wit, and facetious companion, his company was agreeable to several persons of rank; by whose interest he procured a cornet's commission in a regiment then (1670) in Flanders. But the delicacy of his constitution not permitting him to remain long in the army, he returned to London, and commenced writer for the stage. His plays were received with the greatest applause, as they are to this day. But œconomy was none of poor Otway's qualifications. After suffering a great deal of distress from the untoward state of his finances, he went one evening to a public-house, near Tower-hill, and seeing a gentleman there whom he had formerly known, and being greatly pinched by cold and hunger, he asked him for a shilling: the gentleman, commiserating his condition, generously gave him a guinea; which the other got immediately changed, in order to purchase some refreshment; but had no sooner tasted the first mouthful, than, the wind rising in his stomach, it

choaked

choaked him ; and he was found dead the next morning, A. D. 1673, in the thirty-third year of his age.*

William Oughtred, B. D. the incomparable mathematician, was born A. D. 1574, at ———, in this county. His learning was not confined to the mathematics—eminent in other parts of literature, in that he far excelled his contemporaries ; which he established on new principles, and better than the former. His reputation in which was so great, that he received pressing invitations from the literati and great men in Italy, France, and Holland, to go and reside there—which he declined, and preferred staying at home, and living on a very moderate income, arising from a fellowship of Eton-college, and a vicarage

* It is no dishonour to the memory of Otway, to mention, that he received favours of a pecuniary nature from Nell Gwynne, one of king Charles the II.'s mistresses: So did Lee, and some other eminent writers of that day. Of all the king's mistresses, this woman was the person of the lowest parentage and education, but of the best morals—had many good qualities to compensate, in some degree, for her frailty ; and even in that respect, was not so reprobate as the others. After she was taken into the king's keeping, she kept herself faithfully for him alone—a species of fidelity which none of the others are said to have possessed—**SOME** of them were but little above the degree of **COMMON** ; but the king's vanity saved them from suspicion. (See London Evening Post, Dec. 27, 1791.)

vicarage in Surry, given to him by the earl of Arundel. Of both which he was stripped in the time of the distractions—and reduced to considerable distress. He lived to the Restoration, which it is said he foretold, and of which he drew a scheme shewing it would be in 1660, and sent it to the king by the bishop of Avignon. (Vide Mag. Brit. p. 563.) He died the same year, in the 86th year of his age.

John Gregory, A. M. was prebendary of this church, and excelled in all manner of learning; but was ennobled still more by the virtues which adorned his life. “ Besides his immense learning in almost
 “ all languages and arts, there was no commendable
 “ quality becoming a man, that was not eminent in
 “ him; a good nature, profusely communicative of
 “ his wonderful attainments, a downright, plain, and
 “ honest temper, a serious and easy frame of mind,
 “ which procured him the respect of the most worthy
 “ part of mankind. He died in great distress, and
 “ of a broken heart, in March 1646, in the 39th
 “ year of his age. Pity it was that so great a light
 “ was so soon extinguished, and thereby prevented
 “ from benefiting the world.” (Vide Mag. Brit. p. 564.)

Doctor Joseph Henshaw was a native of this county, and educated at Merchant-Taylor's school, in London ; from whence he went to Magdalen-hall, Oxford, where he took up his degree, and taking orders, was appointed chaplain to the earl of Bristol. In 1634, he was preferred to the living of Stedham cum Heyshot, in this diocese, being at the same time preacher at the Charter-house, and vicar of Little St. Bartholomew's, London. In 1637, he vacated Stedham, for the rectory of East-Lavant, near Chichester, which he enjoyed, together with a prebend in this cathedral, till the year 1643 ; four years before which he took his degree of doctor of divinity; but in the year last mentioned he was not only stripped of all his preferments in the church, but obliged to compound for his temporal property, by paying a fine of 177*l*. and subjected to many indignities and hardships in the manner in which these punishments were inflicted. He had the good fortune to live to see better days : after the Restoration his sufferings were not forgotten by his former friends; the venerable doctor King, bishop of this diocese, among the first of his official acts, after his return to Chichester, made him chanter of the church; and in

the

the same year, on the 29th of November, 1660, he was installed dean. In the month of May 1663, he obtained the mitre of Peterborough, which he enjoyed almost fifteen years, to the day of his death. He died suddenly on the 9th of March, 1678, and was buried at East-Lavant, by his wife Jane, and a son.

William Collins, the celebrated lyric poet, was born in Chichester, on Christmas-day 1720, in the house now in the occupation of Mr. Seagrave, printer, and bookseller. His father was a reputable tradesman in the city, and served the office of mayor in 1721. In 1733, he was admitted scholar of Winchester-college, where he continued seven years, under the care of doctor Burton. In 1740, he entered commoner of Queen's college, Oxford; and the year following was admitted a demy in Magdalen's, where he continued till he had taken a bachelor's degree. He was distinguished at Oxford for genius and indolence—the last a very unpromising quality for the acquisition of knowledge. At Magdalen's he wrote the ode to sir Thomas Hanmer, and the four oriental eclogues. In 1743 or 1744 he quitted the college; and at the desire of his mother's brother, lieutenant-colonel Martin, of Guy's regiment of foot, went

to Flanders, where the colonel then was; who would have provided for him in the army, but found him too indolent, even for the army; and besides, his mind was fixed on letters, and the improvement of his intellect. Returning therefore to England, he applied, by the colonel's desire, to Mr. Green, who gave him a title to the curacy of Birdham, of which Mr. Green was rector, and letters of recommendation to the bishop, (doctor Mawson) then in London. With these, and the necessary credentials, he went to London; but did not go to the bishop's, being dissuaded from the clerical office by Mr. Hardham, the tobacconist (mentioned before.) Soon after he commenced author; but his success was equal neither to his expectations nor his merit. This brought on him pecuniary embarrassments; from which he wanted neither learning nor genius to have extricated himself; but he wanted (what was of equal importance) resolution and application. He projected many things in history, criticism, and in the dramatic line; but executed none. In this state of irresolution, and consequent distress, he continued till the year 1748, when his uncle, colonel Martin, died, and left his estate, amounting to nearly seven thousand

thousand pounds, to him and his two sisters, Mrs. Tanner and Mrs. Sempill.—The possession of an independent competency, it might have been hoped would have rendered him happy, and removed every trace of his former misery. The event was otherwise. His mind had been so long harrassed with anxiety, his distress had made so deep an impression on him, that he fell into a nervous disorder, followed by a great depression of spirits, which reduced him to the most deplorable weakness.—In which condition he died at his sister Mrs. Sempill's house in Chichester, the 12th of June, 1759, in the thirty-ninth year of his age; and was buried in saint Andrew's church, in the East-street.—He wrote four Oriental Eclogues; eight Odes, descriptive and allegorical; the Passions, an ode for music; an Ode on the death of Mr. Thomson, and several other pieccs.—Some time ago a subscription was opened in the city, and supported by the reverend Mr. Walker, of this choir, for erecting an handsome monument to his memory. It was executed by the ingenious Flaxman; and is erected in the north-aisle of the cathedral.*

William

* The poet is represented as just recovered from a fit of phrensy, to which he was unhappily subject, and in a calm and reclining

William Hayley, esquire, the poet, is the son of Thomas Hayley, esquire, (the only son of Thomas Hayley, dean of Chichester) and Mary, daughter of colonel Yates, representative of this city from the

M M

year

reclining posture, seeking refuge from his misfortunes in the consolations of the gospel, while his lyre, and one of his first poems, lie neglected on the ground. Above are two beautiful figures of love and pity entwined in each other's arms. The workmanship is most exquisite; and if any thing can equal the expressive sweetness of the sculpture, it is the following most excellent epitaph, written by WILLIAM HAYLEY and JOHN SARGENT, esquires.

Ye, who the merits of the dead revere,
 Who hold misfortune sacred, genius dear,
 Regard this tomb, where Collins' hapless name
 Solicits kindness with a double claim.
 Tho' nature gave him, and tho' science taught,
 The fire of fancy, and the reach of thought,
 Severely doom'd to penury's extreme,
 He past in mad'ning pain life's feverish dream;
 While rays of genius only serv'd to show
 The thick'ning horror, and exalt his woe.
 Ye walls, that echo'd to his frantic moan,
 Guard the due record of this grateful stone;
 Strangers to him, enamour'd of his lays,
 This fond memorial to his talents raise;
 For this the ashes of a bard require
 Who touch'd the tenderest notes of pity's lyre;
 Who join'd pure faith to strong poetic powers,
 Who, in reviving reason's lucid hours,
 Sought on one book his troubled mind to rest,
 And rightly deem'd the Book of God the best!

year 1734 to 1741. He was born in Chichester in the year 1745. Losing his father while he was very young, the care of his education devolved on his mother; a duty which she discharged with equal tenderness and prudence. At an age hardly credible he discovered a great propensity for poetry: as if the tuneful nine had kept their vigils around his cradle; his ideas were full of the spirit they breathe, which the weak habit of his body could not suppress nor restrain. At an early age he was sent to school in or near Kingston-upon-Thames; from which he was soon removed on account of illness; and put under the instruction of a private tutor, who prepared him for Eton; from which he went to the university of Cambridge, and entered himself at Trinity-hall there, A. D. 1762: about which time the first of his literary publications, "An Ode on the Birth of the Prince of Wales," made its appearance in the Cambridge Collection. On quitting the university in 1766, he went to Edinburgh, on a visit to some of his acquaintances, students of physic there. In 1769 he married the daughter of the reverend Mr. Ball, dean of Chichester;* and after passing a few years in London,

* This lady died a few years ago.

London, and its vicinity, returned to his native county ; and settled at Eartham—a situation remarkably healthy and rural, which he improved and embellished, and where he resided till lately that he removed to Felpham, adjoining to Bognor.—With this gentleman's injunction to say nothing in commendation of his productions, I readily comply, as the public approbation has raised his fame to an elevation to which I can only look up—and to an extent far beyond the reach of my feeble voice : but in justice to my readers, I must mention some of his works, which I have read and admired. His *Epistles to Romney* were published in 1778—*Epistle on the death of Mr. Thornton*, *Ode to Howard*, and *Epistle to Gibbon* in 1780—the *Triumphs of Temper* in 1781—and the *Essay on Epic Poetry* in 1782: Soon after which he published a volume of *Plays*, three comedies and two tragedies, each in three acts. These I have not seen. One of the reviewers informs his readers, that “ the comedies are in rhyme, but “ so familiar, so easy, and so flowing, that prose “ itself can scarcely appear more natural, more convenient for the purpose of dialogue, and the business of the stage. Like the antient Iambic, recom-

“ mended by Aristotle, and characterised by Horace, “ as the measure peculiarly suited to the scene.”—He likewise favoured the public with an Elegy on that “ all-accomplished ” man sir William Jones; and the Life of our immortal bard Milton ; in which, much to his honour, he has defended his character from the harsh and illiberal strictures of his former biographer.—In the year 1802, he published the Life of Mr. Cowper, the divine author of *The Task*, &c.—It is exceedingly creditable to Mr. Hayley that he has never prostituted his muse to wealth and power; but, great in conscious dignity, reserved his praise and protection for virtue and talents.—There are some other works which the public has ascribed to this gentleman—An Essay on Old Maids—An Elegy on the Greek Model, &c.—besides several fugitive pieces ; written, most of them, at the call of humanity.

The three Smiths, William, George, and John, brothers and painters, were natives of this city.* Of whom

* They were not born in Chichester, but at —, near Guildford, in Surry, and removed from thence so very young to this city, where they resided the rest of their lives, that they may without impropriety be called natives.

whom it is no more than justice to say, that their lives were as faultless as their paintings, which will secure their reputation as long as virtue, genius, and taste, are esteemed among mankind. John died the 29th of July, 1764, in the forty-ninth year of his age; William the 27th of September, in the same year, aged fifty-eight years; and George the 7th of September, 1776, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Daniel Holroyd, esquire, was the third son of Isaac Holroyd, esquire, brother to lord Sheffield, of Sheffield-place, in this county. This gentleman entered into the army at a very early age; in which he distinguished himself, in an eminent degree; not less by his prudent conduct than by his courage and intrepidity, in the war which broke out in 1756.—To enumerate the many actions in which his courage was displayed, would take up more room than our purposed brevity will admit: and the instances of his humanity not less. Let it suffice then to mention a few of the most prominent of the former. In 1761, he was at the taking of Belleisle, where he acquired great reputation. Very soon after this he was in the expedition against Martinique, where he had the command of a company of grenadiers. On

the 24th of January, 1762, the attack of the heights of Garnier, which command saint Pierre, was resolved upon, and captain Holroyd employed in the dangerous undertaking. Though the heights were thought to be impregnable; yet by the judicious arrangements previous to the attack; and the cool, determinate, and resolute manner in which the assault was made; they were carried; at the expence of fewer lives than it was thought possible to effect it. For this gallant exploit, which secured the success of the expedition, the officers and men received the public thanks of the general in chief. From Martinico the regiment went to the siege of the Havannah; where more fatal dangers, and equal laurels, awaited him. He was one of three officers, and about forty or fifty privates, who repulsed a body of nearly five hundred Spaniards, by whom they were attacked; and were thanked in the orders of the day, by lord Albermarle, for their heroism. Through the length of the siege, and the extreme unhealthiness of the climate, the English army was greatly reduced; and its situation became very dangerous. It was therefore resolved, as their last resource, to storm the Moro fort. Though the health of this gallant officer,

was

was much impaired, yet he offered his service on this *forlorn hope*. A breach had been made in the Moro, but which would admit only one man a breast; and to come at this breach they had to pass a narrow ridge of rocks, with the sea on one side, and a ditch ten or twelve fathoms deep on the other; the passage was guarded on the traverse by a cannon of large caliber, loaded with grape shot, which kept discharging upon them, and did considerable execution; notwithstanding which the party, that is the survivors of them, forced their way into the fort, where the governor, Don Lewis Velasco was mortally wounded, in the first onset; and the deputy-governor, Don Gonsales, killed; after which the garrison, confounded at the boldness of the attack, gave way; and the Havannah, which depended on the Morofort, in consequence surrendered.—During the attack, this gallant young officer was shot dead on the spot, justly regretted by the whole army, and was buried on the glacis of the fort.

Mrs. Charlotte Smith, the poetess and novelist, in both of which walks she has acquired great celebrity, reflects no small honour on this her native county. Her maiden name was Turner, the

daughter of — Turner, esquire, of Bignor-park. Of the many novels which she has written, I can only say that they have the character of being moral, pathetic, and entertaining: and her sonnets have deservedly met the approbation of the public, as the effusions of a cultivated mind, expressed in a chaste, poetical, and plaintive style.—The following, not picked as the best, but taken by chance, I doubt not will please the poetical reader.

SONNET

Written in the Church-Yard at Middleton, Sussex.

(BY MRS. C. SMITH)

Press'd by the moon, mute arbitress of tides,
 While the loud equinox its pow'r combines,
 The sea no more its swelling surge confines,
 But o'er the shrinking land sublimely rides !
 The wild blast, rising from the western cave,
 Drives the huge billows from their heaving bed ;
 Tears from their grassy tombs the village dead ;
 And breaks the silent sabbath of the grave !*
 With shells and sea-weed mingled, on the shore,
 Lo! their bones whiten in the frequent wave ;
 But vain to them the winds and waters rave ;
 They hear the warring elements no more:
 While I am doom'd, by life's long storm oppress'd,
 To gaze with envy on their gloomy rest !

Daniel

* The church-yard is washed by the sea at high water,

Daniel Foot, the son of a respectable tradesman in Chichester, was born there about the year 1754. From the care of his father he received a grammar-school education, which was all that his circumstances would allow, consistent with the duty he owed to his other children. But what fortune denied, his own emulation and thirst after learning, in some measure supplied. At the age of seventeen or eighteen, he had made as great a proficiency in science, by the strength of his genius, and unwearied application, as many who enjoy superior advantages. Before he had completed the twenty-first year of his age, at the earnest solicitation of his friends ("who admired his genius and revered his virtues,") he consented to publish a collection of "Poems on various occasions; three Letters on moral subjects," &c. These made their appearance in 1777, and were well received among his acquaintance; chiefly on account of his excellent moral character.—A very few days before his death he walked into the country, in the company of some of his friends; and happening to light on a spot abounding with ripe hedge-picks, a wild fruit he was fond of, he unfortunately ate more of them than his stomach could

could digest; a stoppage was formed in the intestines, and a mortification ensued; which put a period to his life, in the twenty-third year of his age, the 26th of October, 1777.

I am concerned to inform the reader that I am not perfectly at liberty to gratify his curiosity with an account of the distinguished author of '*The Mine*', without violating the respect due to modesty and merit. If it were not for this restriction much might be said in praise of him as an elegant poet, an able and upright magistrate, and above all—a truly respectable character both in public and private life.

CHAPTER XXIX.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE TOWNS, VILLAGES, &c.
IN THE VICINITY OF THE CITY.

ON the Broile, near the city, are the vestiges of a camp, about three miles in length, and one mile in breadth. It is surrounded by a strong rampire inward, and a single graff outward. Considering the nature of the soil, a very hard gravel, the making of this camp must have been a work of much labour. I mentioned before that Vespasian resided some considerable time among the Belgian Britons, in the reign of Claudius Augustus—it is therefore the general opinion that this camp was raised by him, for the security of the city and the forces under him; as the country was then in an unsettled condition.—
The inner line begins at the north-east corner of the city-walls, opposite to the mount in the Friary, mentioned before; goes (over the place now called Dell-hole) in a straight line to the farther part of
the

the New Broyle; where, in an angle of about one hundred degrees, it turns westward, crosses the London-road, in the same direction; passes by the New Broyle-coppice; skirts the Old Broyle coppice; crosses the Old Broyle, and part of Saltbox common; passes Densworth-house, a little beyond which it is terminated by the returning outer line.—*The outer line* strikes off, or separates from the inner line at the Watery-line, above the Pest-house; goes eastward a little way; turns to the north; crossing Mr. Miller's fields, and the road from the New Broyle to Grayling-Well house; goes on in a pretty straight line to Summer's dale, where it forms a small curve; then goes along Rawmere-lane, over the spot where Rawmere-house now stands; skirts the small coppice there; at the north-east corner of which it crosses the London-road about a mile from the inner line; and passing over the paddock belonging to Miss Poole, crosses the Lavant road a little way south of her house—over the fields to lord Bathurst's park, which it passes, not far from the house; over Stoke common; goes on westward; almost skirts Little-Tomlin's, on the south of it; beyond which it turns a little way northward; then goes on westward as far

far as Ashling-wood; about which place was the boundary of its westward direction; turns southward, and joining the inner line to the west of Densworth house, in the same (southward) direction passes through the lands belonging to Mr. Blagden of Chichester, goes on through part of Clay-lane common; and (*somewhere*) in the now cultivated fields formed an angle or turning; goes on eastward, in the direction of the Roman-bank,* (part of the line) till it terminates at the north-west corner of the city wall; after being carried on through a space of nine or ten miles, and encompassing an area of seven or eight square miles.—This sketch, though not complete and full, is the most correct that I could trace of this famous Roman camp.—It is proper to observe that within the inner line, i. e. between it and the city, we discover lines joining to it, and running south and north a considerable way; and in some places the broken traces of others, in an east and west direction, at a moderate distance from the said inner line. From which it would appear, that they (the Romans) had inner camps formed, as places of
refuge

* A bank and deep ditch so called—in the meadows, a little way north-west of Mr. Newman's nursery.

refuge to retreat to, in case they should be driven from the great camp outwards. If this was the case, these masters of the world did not, at that time, look upon the conquest of this island to be complete; but judged it necessary to guard against a reverse of fortune, and the danger that might arise from the exertions of a warlike people, who were but half subdued. That such lines did exist is evident from inspection, but by whom they were made does not clearly appear.

Besides this camp, the vestiges of several others are discoverable in various parts of the county. That on the top of saint Roche's hill, was mentioned before. At Cisbury there was one—by some this is said to have been a Roman military fortification; the inhabitants have a tradition, that Julius Cæsar raised an entrenchment there; but this must be a mistake; as Cæsar never was in these parts. The name of the place clearly shows that it was made by Cissa; no doubt as a place of security and defence against the Britons; who, it would appear from hence, were not wholly extirpated, nor entirely subdued by his father Ella. At each of the following places are the marks of encampments or fortifications,

cations, at Gönshill, Highdown, Chenkbury, Poor-man's wall, Woolsenbury, Ditchling, Hollingbury, near Telscombe, Caburn, Castle at Newhaven, Castle near Seaford, and at Bellfont.

About two miles and a half north of Chichester, on the London-road, is the pleasant village of Lavant, near which was the seat of the family of Miller, baronets. It now belongs to the duke of Richmond.* Adjoining to Lavant is saint Roche's hill, commonly called Rook's hill; on the top of which are the remains of a small camp, in a circular form, supposed to have been raised by the Danes, when they invaded and plundered this country.

Eleven miles north of Chichester, on the London road, is Midhurst, (the *Midæ* of the Romans) so called from its being surrounded with woods. A populous, well-built town, and very pleasantly situated. The air of Midhurst is reckoned salubrious in
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* As does also Rawmere; of which mention has been made before. Lately it belonged to the family of May, who resided there. Lady May gave it to Mr. —, a relation, on condition of his taking the name of May—who afterwards succeeded to another estate on a similar condition of assuming the name of Knight.—This gentlemen sold it to the duke of Richmond, the present proprietor, about the year 1784, or 1785.

an eminent degree, for which reason it is resorted to by persons afflicted with pulmonary complaints. From Domesday-book it appears to have been a considerable place at the time of the Norman conquest; and therefore a borough by prescription. In the fourth year of Edward II. it was summoned to send two members to parliament—a privilege it has enjoyed ever since. The greatest part of the town is held by burgage tenure; the number of freemen is but few; there are some stones in the place, which are numbered, (1, 2, 3, &c.) which give a right to the holders of them to vote at elections.—Some persons there are who lament this circumstance, that the elective franchise should belong to inanimate stones—but these misplace their concern for the public, which is less injured by that mode than when the business is done by an *echo*.—The government of Midhurst is vested in a bailiff, chosen annually at the court-leet of the manor. The weekly market (on Thursday) is well supplied with provisions, which are sold, for the most part, at reasonable rates. Cowdry-house, the seat of the antient family of lord viscount Montague, (now unfortunately extinct) was most delightfully situated in the middle of a
park,

park, adjoining the town. I have informed the reader that this noble mansion, this venerable edifice, was destroyed by accidental fire, on the 25th of September, 1793, and that nearly about the same time lord Montague was himself unhappily drowned in one of the falls of the Rhine in Switzerland; an accident lamented by all to whom he was known, and severely felt by all the inhabitants of Midhurst, particularly the poor. The situation of Cowdry-house was naturally romantic, and the noble proprietors had improved the scene as far as art and genius could go. It was built in the Gothic style, perhaps too much ornamented. The wars of Henry the eighth, were painted in different parts of the house, by Hans Holbein, and several of the ancestors of the family were done by the same ingenious artist.

The town of Petworth is six miles east of Midhurst; a populous town, very pleasantly situated, many of the houses well built, but the streets irregular. It is not remarkable for any thing that I know of except that majestic edifice, the mansion of the earl of Egremont, built by Charles duke of Somerset, towards the end of the seventeenth century. In the armory are several pieces of antiquity, particularly

the sword which Henry Hotspur used at the battle of Shrewsbury, 1423, in endeavouring to dethrone Henry IV. but lost both the battle and his life, by his too great impetuosity. From the family of Percy, this noble palace, and a considerable estate, came to the duke of Somerset, in whose possession it remained till lately, when it came to the family of Wyndham, earl of Egremont, the present proprietor.*

About eight miles east of Chichester is Eartham, lately the pleasant and romantic mansion of William Hayley, esquire. And not far from thence is Slindon, and Slindon-house, the seat of the earl of Newburgh, the lineal descendent of the earl of Derventwater.

Ten miles east of Chichester is the town of Arundel. The first mention of which that we meet with in history, is in the time of king Alfred, who
gave

* In the year 1682, Charles duke of Somerset married lady Elizabeth Percy, sole daughter and heiress of Joscelyne Percy, the last earl of Northumberland, of that particular branch; and on the 21st of July, 1708, sir William Wyndham, of Orchard-Wyndham, in the county of Somerset, baronet, married lady Catharine Seymour, daughter of the said Charles, and so became possessed of that magnificent mansion—whose son George Wyndham, was on the 18th of October, 1749, created earl of Egremont.

gave it by his will to Anthelm, his brother's son ; in which will the castle is also mentioned: from which it is reasonable to infer, that it was built during that reign, or a little before. At the Norman conquest it was given to Roger de Montgomery, earl of Chichester and Arundel. Henry I. gave it to his second queen Adeliza, as mentioned before. The present duke of Norfolk has lately repaired it at a very considerable expence.—In the reign of Henry VI. a dispute arose between John Fitz-Allen, and John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, concerning the right of inheritance in this castle and manor; and being carried into parliament, a definitive judgment was given in favour of the former; and an act was passed, by which Arundel is made a feodal title; so that whoever is in possession of the castle must be stiled earl, and has a right to the rank and honour thereof without creation, as may be seen in the parliament-rolls, twenty-seventh of Henry VI.—The church of Arundel, formerly collegiate, is a very noble, Gothic structure: there are in it several monuments of the Arundel family, but none of the stalls of the prebendaries now remain.—Arundel is a borough by prescription, and sends two members to parlia-

ment, chosen by the inhabitants at large. In the reign of queen Elizabeth it received a charter of incorporation, by which it is governed by a mayor, steward, and burgesses ; the former of which is also a justice of the peace, in the borough. It has two weekly markets, one on Thursday and another on Saturday, and four annual fairs.

About four miles from Chichester, on the north-east, is Goodwood, the seat of the duke of Richmond. It is very agreeably situated in a spacious park, and commands an extensive and delightful prospect. Goodwood formerly belonged to the noble and very respectable family of Percy, as mentioned before, of whom it was purchased by the grandfather of the present duke.

At a small distance from Goodwood, is Halnaker-house, the mansion of the late countess of Derby, who was daughter and sole heiress of sir William Morley, to which family this mansion and estate formerly belonged. They are now both the property of the duke of Richmond. The house is going to decay.—Near to Halnaker is the village of Boxgrove, where a monastery, dedicated to the virgin Mary, was founded by Robert de Haye, in the reign
of

of Henry I. for monks of the Benedictine order: but being an alien priory, it was dissolved in the reign of Henry V. A. D. 1415. The tithes of the parish (part of the endowment of the priory) first belonged to the Delaware family, then to the family of Arundel, afterwards the antient family of Lumley enjoyed them; from whom they came to the Morley family, and were given for ever for the endowment of the poor vicarage by the late pious and worthy countess of Derby. Part of the priory is now converted into the parish church.

Something more than four miles south of Chichester is the church of Sidlesham, in the tower of which, a stately edifice, is a ring of three bells. And not far from hence is Sidlesham-mill, (a tide-mill) which for symmetry of parts and justness of principle, is inferior to none in the kingdom. It has three water-wheels, eight pair of stones, a fan for cleansing corn, and will grind a load of corn in an hour. Adjoining close to the mill is a strong, convenient quay, for loading and unloading of vessels. The whole was erected by the late Mr. Woodroffe Drinkwater, A. D. 1755, "under the direction of Benjamin Barlow, who invented and constructed the machinery."

Eight miles south of Chichester is the pleasant peninsula, improperly called island, of Selsea. It is surrounded, as Camden observes, on all sides by the sea, except on the north-west, where it is joined to the main land by an isthmus, of about a stone's throw over. When Adelwalch gave Selsea, Sidlesham, Ernly, and almost all the Manewood, to Wilfrid, they contained eighty-seven families, about five hundred persons. The church is a stately, Gothic, structure, situated in the north-east end of the parish, at a very considerable distance from what is called the street. A monastery was founded here, Camden says, by the munificence of the South-Saxon kings: it may be so: but from several circumstances I am induced to think that it was at the joint expence of all the (Christian) proprietors of land in this district. The same author says, that the remains of the adjoining city (now swallowed up by the sea) are still visible at low water. It is very true, that the sea has for many years encroached on the land, on all this coast, and continues to do so at this day—it is likewise true that the best anchoring ground off the island is called the park—and that the rocks, between the island and the shoals, are called the streets, by the fishermen; and

and yet I think the conjecture is very doubtful ; and therefore I choose to leave it on his authority.

About four miles south-west of Chichester, nearly on the confines of Hampshire, is Boseham, or Bosham ; where a daughter of Canute the Great was buried—and where Harold, the son of earl Godwin, had a castle ; the vestiges of which are clearly to be distinguished to this day. We are informed, from Testa de Nevil, (the inquisition of lands made in the time of king John) that the Conqueror “ gave Boseham to William Fitz-Aucher, and his heirs, “ in fee farm, paying out of it yearly, into the exchequer, forty pounds of silver, tried and weighed ; “ and afterwards William Marshall held it as his inheritance.” From the family of Marshall it came to that of Berkley ; for Maurice lord Berkley having recovered it, sixteenth of Henry VII. from those to whom his brother William had given it, possessed it, and other estates, to the day of his death, as his descendants do to this day.—The church of Bosham is a spacious venerable structure, built (it is said) at the sole expence of William Walewaft, bishop of Exeter, about the year 1119. It was made collegiate for a dean and prebendaries, and endowed with many

privileges, which it enjoyed till the general dissolution, when it was made parochial. As to the legendary tales of “ Bosham great bell, and the giant’s staff,” they need no refutation.*

About eight or nine miles north-west of Chichester is Stanstead, the elegant and delightful mansion of the late earl of Hallifax, who left it to his daughter, who sold it to the present proprietor, Richard Barwell, esquire—a gentleman who acquired his very ample fortune in the East-Indies. The situation of Stanstead is delightful; from the windows there is a compleat view of Portsmouth, the isle of Wight, and the shipping at Spithead. In the time of lord Hallifax, the walks through the extensive park, in which it is situated, were extremely rural, and the many vistas in them, terminating in some agreeable prospect, so judiciously planned, that though art had conducted the whole process, she lay concealed, and only nature struck the eye.

About seven miles south-east of Chichester is the pleasant village of Bognor, now converted into
a watering

* As I intend to publish an account of the customs and privileges of this manor, I shall say no more concerning it at present.

a watering-place. It was built by the late sir Richard Hotham, and first resorted to as a watering-place in the summer of 1791. It affords an agreeable retreat for the valetudinarian, and those who dislike the tumult or expence of more populous places of public resort.

CHAPTER XXX.

A LIST OF THE SHERIFFS OF THE COUNTY, THE MEMBERS FOR
THE CITY, THE MAYORS, &c.

THE SHERIFFS,

From the first year of the reign of Henry II.

1155 Hugo Wareluilla	1195 Willielmus Marescal and
1156 Magerus Maleuvenant	Stephanus de Pountfold
1157	(for two years)
1158 Randulphus Picot	1197 Willielmus Marescal and
1159 Idem	Stephanus de Poudfold
1160 Idem	1198 Willielmus Marescal and
1161 Episcop. Chichest. Hilarius	Stephanus de Poudfold
1162 Henricus Archidiaconus	1199 Mich. de Apletricham
1163 Rogorus Hai	1200 Willielmus Marescal
1164 Idem (for four years)	1201 Robertus Turnham
1170 Reginaldus de Warrenn	1202 Johannes Chaper
(for seven years)	1203 Willielmus Marescal
1177 Rogerus filius Renfridi	1204 Mic. de Apeltricham and
(for eleven years)	Johannes Ferles
1189 Philippus Rufus	1205 Willielmus de Chaignes,
1190 Philippus de Tresgar	Richardus de Maisi and
(for two years)	Willielmus de St. Laudo
1192 Johannes Marescal	1206 Idem
(for two years)	1207 Willielmus de Chaignes
1194 Willielmus Marescal	1208 Idem

1209 Johannes

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|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1209 Johannes filius Hugonis | 1239 Johannes de Gatesden and |
| 1210 Willielmus Briewre | Philippus de Crofts |
| 1211 Johannes filius Hugonis | 1241 Philippus de Crofts |
| 1212 Matth. filius Herbert and | 1241 Randul. de Kaymes (for |
| Gilbertus de Barier | three years) |
| 1213 Matth. filius Herbert | 1245 Robertus de Savage (for |
| 1214 Matth. filius Herbert and | four years) |
| Gilbertus de Barier | 1250 Nich. de Wancy (for three |
| 1215 Matth. filius Herbert | years) |
| 1216 Matth. filius Herbert and | 1254 Will. and Mich. de Vere |
| Gilbert Barier | (for two years) |
| 1271 Matth. filius Herberti | 1256 Galfr. de Grues (for two |
| 1218 Gilbertus Barrarius | years) |
| 1219 Matth. filius Herberti and | 1258 Gerard de Cunton |
| Gilbertus Barrarius (for | 1259 David de Jarpennil |
| six years) | 1260 Johannes de Wanton (for |
| 1226 Matth. filius Herbert and | two years) |
| Herbert filius Walteri (for | 1262 Robertus Agwillon (for |
| four years) | six years) |
| 1230 Robertus de Laudelawe & | 1268 Rogerus de Loges (for |
| Henricus de Wintershul | three years) |
| 1231 Idem | 1217 Barthol. de Hastings (for |
| 1232 Petrus de Rival | two years) |
| 1233 Idem, and H. de Cancel | 1272 Matth. de Hastings (for |
| 1234 Simon de Echingham and | two years) |
| Joelus de Germano | 1274 Williel. de Herne |
| 1235 Simon de Echingham, | 1275 Johannes Wanton (for |
| Henry de Bada, Johannes | three years) |
| de Gatesden, and Joel de | 1278 Emerindus de Cancelis |
| Sancto German | (for two years) |
| 1236 Johannes de Gatesden and | 1280 Nich. de Gras (for five |
| Philip de Crofts | years) |
| 1237 Idem | 1286 Richardus de Pevensey |
| 1238 Johannes de Gatesden | 1287 Idem |

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|------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1288 Will. de Pageham (for five years) | 1332 Johannes Dabnam |
| 1293 Robertus de Glamorgam (for six years) | 1332 Williel. Vaughan (for two years) |
| 1299 John Albel (four years) | 1335 Idem, and Johannes Dabnam (three years) |
| 1303 Walter de Gedding (for two years) | 1338 Willielm. Vaughan (for two years) |
| 1305 Robertus de Knole (for three years) | 1339 Godfridus de Hunston |
| 1308 Walter de Gedding | 1340 Williel. de Northo and Godfridus de Hunston |
| 1309 Williel. de Henle and Robertus de Stangrave (for two years) | 1341 Hugo de Bowcy and Willielm. de Northo |
| 1310 Williel. de Henle | 1342 Andreas Peverel, and Hugo de Bowcy |
| 1312 Williel. de Henle and Williel. de Mere | 1343 Idem |
| 1313 Petrus de Vienne (for two years) | 1344 Williel. de Northo |
| 1315 Willielmus Merre | 1345 Regind. de Forester (for three years) |
| 1316 Walterus de Gras | 1348 Rogerus Daber |
| 1317 Walterus de Gras and Petrus de Worldham | 1349 Tho. Hoo (three years) |
| 1318 Petrus de Worldham and Henr. Husey (two years) | 1352 Richardus de St. Oweyn (for two years) |
| 1321 Henricus Husey | 1354 Simon de Codington |
| 1323 Nicholas Gentil (for two years) | 1355 Rogerus Leukenor |
| 1325 Petrus de Worldham and Andream Medested (for three years) | 1356 Will. Northo |
| 1328 Nicholas Gentil | 1357 Tho. de Hoo (three yrs.) |
| 1329 Nicholas Gentil and Robertus de Stangrave (for three years) | 1360 Richardus de Hurst (for three years) |
| | 1363 Simon de Codington |
| | 1364 Ranul. Thurnburn |
| | 1365 Johannes Wateys |
| | 1366 Johannes Weyvile |
| | 1367 Andreas Sackvile (for three years) |

1370 Ranul.

1370 Ranul. Thurnburn (for two years)	1402 Nichol. Ashburnham
1372 Williel. Neidegate	1403 Robertus Atte Mulle (for two years)
1373 Roger. Dalingrugg	1405 Philip. St. Clere
1374 Nichol. Wilcomb	1406 Thomæ Sackvile
1375 Robertus de Loxele	1407 Thomæ Clipsham
1376 Robertus Atte Hele	1408 Willielmus Verd
1377 Johannes St. Clere	1409 Tho. Ashburnham
1378 Johannes de Melburn	1410 Johan. Warne Campie
1379 Will. Percy and Edward Fitz-Herbert	1411 Johan. Waterton
1380 Johannes de Hadresham	1412 Johan. Haysham
1381 Nich. Sleyfeld	1413 Johan. Wintershul
1382 Will. Percy	1414 Johan. Clipsham
1383 Will. Weston	1415 Johan. Uvedale
1384 Will. Waleys	1416 Johan. Weston
1385 Robertus Nutborne	1417 James Knotsford
1386 Richardus Hurst	1418 Johan. Clipsham
1387 Thomæ Hardin	1419 Johan. Ilace
1388 Idem	1420 Johan. Bolvey and James Knotesford
1389 Edward. de St. Johannes	1421 Sir Roger Fienes
1390 Robertus Atte Mulle	1422 John Winterseul
1391 Robert de Echingham	1423 Johan. Clipsham
1392 Nicholas Carew	1424 Thomæ Leukenor
1393 Thomæ Jardin	1425 Johan. Ferriby
1394 Nich. Slyfeld	1426 Will. Warbleton
1395 Edward. St. John	1427 Johan. Wintershal
1396 Johannes Ashburnham	1428 Williel. Uvedale
1397 Willielmus Fienes	1429 Williel. Finch
1398 Johannes Salerne	1430 Sir T. Leukenor
1399 Willielmus Fienes	1431 Johan. Anderne
1400 Randul. Codington	1432 Richardus Waller
1401 Nich. Carew and Johannes Pelham	1433 Sir Roger Fienes
	1434 Richardus Dalingrugg

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|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 1435 Johannes Fereby | 1471 Tho. St. Leger, esquire |
| 1436 Tho. Uvedale | 1472 Joh. Gainsford |
| 1437 James Fienes | 1473 Nich. Gainsford |
| 1438 Sir Roger Leukenor | 1474 Tho. Lewkenor, esquire |
| 1439 Nich. Carew | 1475 Tho. Echingham |
| 1440 Walter Strickland | 1476 Joh. Wode Ser, esquire |
| 1441 John Stanley | 1477 Sir Henry Roos |
| 1442 John Basket, esquire | 1478 Will. Weston |
| 1443 Nich. Carew | 1479 Tho. Combes, esquire |
| 1444 Nich. Hussey | 1480 Joh. Elrington |
| 1445 Williel. Belknap | 1481 Tho. Fienes |
| 1446 Robertus Radmill | 1482 Joh. Apseley |
| 1447 Nich. Carew (two years) | 1483 Sir Hen. Roos |
| 1449 Joh. Pennycoke | 1484 Joh. Dudley |
| 1450 Joh. Leukenor | 1485 Sir John Norbury |
| 1451 Tho. Yard | 1486 Nich. Gainsford |
| 1452 Sir Richard Fienes (for
two years) | 1487 Tho. Combes, esquire |
| 1454 Joh. Knotesford | 1488 Will. Merston |
| 1455 Sir Tho. Cobham (for
two years) | 1489 Rob. Morley |
| 1457 Mich. Husey | 1490 John Apseley, esquire |
| 1458 Tho. Basset | 1491 Richard Lewkenor |
| 1459 Tho. Tresham | 1492 Edward Dawtree, esquire |
| 1460 Rob. Fienes, esquire | 1493 John Leigh, esquire |
| 1461 Nich. Gainsford | 1494 John Coke, esquire |
| 1462 Walter Denis (two years) | 1495 John Apseley, esquire |
| 1464 Tho. Goring, esquire | 1496 Richard Lewkenor, esq. |
| 1465 Sir Tho. Uvedale | 1497 Matth. Brown, esquire |
| 1466 Will. Cheney, esquire | 1498 Richard Sackville, esquire |
| 1467 Tho. Vaughan | 1499 John Coke, esquire |
| 1468 Sir Roger Lewkenor | 1550 Sir Thomas Ashburnham |
| 1469 Nich. Gainsford, esquire | 1501 John Gainsford, esquire
(for two years) |
| 1470 Rich. Lewkenor, esquire | 1503 John Apseley, esquire |
| | 1504 Rad. Shirley, esquire |
| | 1505 Richard |

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|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 1505 Richard Sackville, esq. | 1540 Sir Christopher Moore |
| 1506 Godr. Oxenbrig | 1541 John Sackvile, esquire |
| 1507 Will. Ashburnham, esq. | 1542 Thomas Darell, esquire |
| 1508 Tho. Morton, esquire | 1543 Richard Bellingham, esq. |
| 1509 Sir Thōmas Fienes | 1544 John Palmer, esquire |
| 1510 John Leigh, esquire | 1545 John Thetcher, esquire |
| 1511 Edward Lewknor, esq. | 1546 Sir John Dawtree |
| 1512 Sir Roger Lewkenor | 1547 John Sackvile, esquire |
| 1513 Sir Godr. Oxenbrigg | 1548 Sir Thomas Carden |
| 1514 Richard Shirley, esquire | 1549 John Scott, esquire |
| 1515 Richard Copley, esquire | 1550 Sir Nicholas Pelham |
| 1516 Sir John Leigh | 1551 Sir William Goring |
| 1517 Will. Ashburnham, esq. | 1552 Robert Oxenbrigg, esq. |
| 1518 Sir John Gainsford | 1553 Sir Anthony Brown |
| 1519 Richard Carew, esquire | 1554 Sir Thomas Saunders |
| 1520 Sir Godr. Oxenbrigg | 1555 John Covert, esquire |
| 1521 John Scott, esquire | 1556 William Saunders, esquire |
| 1522 Sir Edward Bray | 1557 Sir Edward Gage |
| 1523 Richard Covert, esquire | 1558 John Ashburnham, esq. |
| 1524 Will. Ashburnham, esq. | 1559 William Moore, esq. and
Sir Tho. Palmer |
| 1525 Sir Thomas West | 1560 John Colpeper, esquire |
| 1526 Richard Shirley, esquire | 1561 John Stidolf, esquire |
| 1527 Sir John Dawtree | 1562 Henry Goring, esquire |
| 1528 John Sackvile, esquire | 1563 William Gresham |
| 1529 Richard Belingham | 1564 Richard Covert, esquire |
| 1530 Sir Roger Copley | 1565 Anthony Pelham, esquire |
| 1531 Sir William Goring | 1566 William Dawtree, esq. |
| 1532 Sir Roger Lewkenor | 1567 Edward Bellingham, esq. |
| 1533 Christopher Moore, esq. | 1568 John Apseley, esquire |
| 1534 John Palmer, esquire | 1569 Henry Goring, esquire |
| 1535 Richard Belingham | 1570 Edward Carrell, esquire |
| 1537 Sir Richard Page | 1571 John Pelham, esquire |
| 1538 Nich. Gainsford, esquire | 1572 Sir Thomas Palmer |
| 1539 Sir Edward Bray | |

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|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1573 Francis Shirley, esquire | 1606 Sir Tho. Hoskings |
| 1574 John Rede, esquire, and
Richard Polsted | 1607 Henry Morley, esquire |
| 1575 Henry Pelham, esquire | 1608 Sir George Gunter |
| 1576 William Gresham, esquire | 1609 Sir Thomas Hunt |
| 1577 Sir Thomas Shirley | 1610 John Lountesford |
| 1578 George Goring, esquire | 1611 Edward Bellingham |
| 1579 Sir William Moore | 1612 Will. Wignall, esquire |
| 1580 William Morley, esquire | 1613 Edw. Goring, esquire |
| 1581 Edward Slifeld, esquire | 1614 Sir John Willdigos |
| 1582 Sir Thomas Brown | 1615 Rola Trops Moore and
Sir John Morgan |
| 1583 Walter Covert, esquire | 1616 Sir John Shirley |
| 1584 Thomas Bishop, esquire | 1617 John Middleton, esquire |
| 1585 Richard Bostock, esq. | 1618 Sir John Howland |
| 1586 Nich. Parker, esquire | 1619 Nich. Eversfeld, esquire |
| 1587 Rich. Brown, esquire | 1620 Richard Michelborne |
| 1588 John Carrell, esquire | 1621 Sir Francis Leigh |
| 1589 Tho. Pelham, esquire | 1622 Sir Thomas Springer |
| 1590 Henry Pelham, esquire | 1623 Sir Benjamin Pelham |
| 1591 Robert Linsey, esquire | 1624 Amb. Browne, esquire |
| 1592 Sir Walter Covert | 1625 Edr. Alford, esquire |
| 1593 Sir Nich. Parker | 1626 Thomas Bowyer, esquire |
| 1594 William Gardeux, esq. | 1627 Edward Jourden, esquire |
| 1595 Richard Leech, esquire | 1628 Sir Stephen Boord |
| 1596 Edmund Colpeper, esq. | 1629 Anthony May, esquire |
| 1597 George Moore, esquire | 1630 Sir William Walter |
| 1598 James Colebrand, esquire | 1631 |
| 1599 Tho. Eversfield, esquire | 1632 Sir John Chapman |
| 1600 Edmund Boier, esquire | 1633 Richard Evelyn, esquire |
| 1601 Tho. Bishop, esquire | 1634 William Colpeper, esquire |
| 1602 John Ashburnham, esq. | 1635 Sir William Morley |
| 1603 Robert Lynsey, esquire | 1636 Sir Edward Bishop |
| 1604 Sir Henry Goring | 1637 Anthony Fowle, esquire |
| 1605 Sir Edw. Colpeper | 1638 Anthony Fonter, esquire |
| | 1639 Edward |

1639 Edward Apseley, esquire	1643 J. Baker, esquire
1640 George Churcher, esquire	1644 Edward Payne, esquire
1641 Egid. Garton, esquire	1645
1642	1646 T. Eversfeld, esquire

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- 1750 Peckham Williams, of Chichester, esquire
 1751 Robert Bull, of the same, esquire
 1752 William Watson, of Ticehurst, esquire
 1753 Robert Randall, of Herrings, esquire
 1754 Walter Bartelot, of Stopham, esquire
 1755 John Major, of East-Grinsted, esquire
 1756 Joseph Calverley, of the Broad, esquire
 1757 James Ward, of West-Grinsted, esquire
 1758 James Goble, of Petworth, esquire
 1759 John Margesson, of Offington, esquire
 1760 John Aldridge, of New-Lodge, esquire
 1761 William Thomas, junr. of Yapton, esquire
 1762 Thomas Grainger, of Cuckfield, esquire
 1763 Thomas Fowle, of Rotherfield, esquire
 1764 John Pay, of Rudgwick, esquire
 1765 Samuel Leeves, of Pulborough, esquire
 1766 John Burges, of Brookhouse, esquire
 1767 James Wood, of Turneham, esquire
 1768 John Paine, of Patcham, esquire
 1769 John Laker, of Wisborough-Green, esquire
 1770 William Westbrooke Richardson, of Ferring, esquire
 1771 William Richardson, of Milland, esquire
 1772 William Gratwicke, of Angmering, esquire
 1773 Kemble Whateley, of Hartfield, esquire
 1774 George Peckham, of Iridge, esquire
 1775 Thomas Baker, of Mayfield, esquire
 1776 Edward Hutchinson, of Fittleworth, esquire
 1777 Thomas Kemp, of Lewes, esquire
 1778 Colville Bridger, of Old Shoreham, esquire

- 1779 John Harrison, of Rotherfield, esquire
- 1780 Sir John Bridger, of Hamsey, knight
- 1781 William Peachey, of Kirdford, esquire
- 1782 William Frankland, of Muntham, esquire
- 1783 John Norton, of Southwick, esquire
- 1784 Thomas Denet, of Washington, esquire
- 1785 William Nelthorpe, of Nuthurst-Lodge, esquire
- 1786 Francis Sergison, of Cuckfield, esquire
- 1787 Richard Wyatt, of Freemans, esquire
- 1788 John Bean, of Littlington, esquire
- 1789 Sir Ferdinando Poole, of Lewes, baronet
- 1790 Henry Manning, of Southover, esquire
- 1791 John Drew, of Chichester, esquire
- 1792 Edmund Woods, of Shopwhyke, esquire
- 1793 Thomas Richardson, of Warminghurst, esquire
- 1794 Samuel Twyford, of Trotten, esquire
- 1795 Francis Newberry, of Heathfield, esquire
- 1796 John Fuller, of Brightling, esquire
- 1797 Charles Scraes Dickens, of Brighthelmstone, esquire
- 1798 Richard Thomas Streatfield, of Heathfield, esquire
- 1799 Charles Edward Pigon, of Frant, esquire
- 1800 Sir Thomas Carr, of Beddingham, knight
- 1801 William Borer, of Hurstpierpoint, esquire
- 1802 Sir William Ashburnham, of Broomham, baronet
- 1803 John William Commerel, of Stroud, esquire
- 1804 John Denet, of Woodmancote, esquire



The preceeding list to the year 1646, is copied from doctor Fuller's account of the counties of Sussex and Surry; who mentions, not without reason, the difficulty of extracting correct lists from the records which were in his hands; as the office for both counties was so often united in the same person; and again separate. Generally (but not invariably, from which circumstance the difficulty

ficulty arose) they were distinct before the reign of Edward II. (anno 1307) when they were united under one: then again divided in the ninth year of queen Elizabeth (1567); divided again in the twelfth of king Charles I. and have continued so ever since. "Nor will we warrant (says the doctor) that in so perplexed a matter we have done all right; but submit our best endeavours to the censure and correction of the more judicious." His account comes not down lower than the year 1646; and as my intention in publishing these lists is to inform my readers what families flourished in these parts in the earlier part of our history, I thought the preceeding would be sufficient for that purpose, without descending lower; especially as I could not conveniently procure a continuation.—The ancestors of many of the noble families in this county, of the present day, are to be found in that account. That some once flourishing and respectable families should be now extinct, will be matter of surprise to none; it is the fate to which all things human are subject. Several of the names in the former part of the account I apprehend are not the surnames of those gentlemen; but only designate the place of their residence, or the place they originally came from; such as Stephanus de Poudfold, Michael de Apletricham, (Stephen of Poudfold, Michael of Appledram) &c.—The first title of honour among them is sir Roger Lewkenor, anno 1438—and the first denominated esquire is John Basket, in 1442.—The latter part I have added for the sake of those who may wish to know the names of the late sheriffs.

THE MEMBERS,

Returned to serve in Parliament for this City,
from the year 1660 to the year 1804.*

- 1660 Henry Peckham, esquire—William Cawley, esquire
 1661 Henry Peckham, esquire—William Garraway, esquire
 1678 Richard May, of Rawmere, esquire—John Bramen, of Chichester, esquire
 1681 Richard Farington, of the South-street, Chichester, esquire and John Bramen, esquire
 1685 Sir Richard May, knight—George Gunter, of Racton, esq.
 1688 Thomas Miller of Lavant and South-street, esquire—Thomas May, esquire
 1690 Thomas Miller, esquire—Thomas May, esquire
 1690 Lord Ranelagh—William Elson, esquire
 1698 Sir Richard Farington, baronet—John Miller, esquire
 1700 (6th of February) Sir Thomas May, knight—William Elson, of Groves, esquire
 1701 (30th of December) John Miller, esquire—W. Elson, esq.
 1702 (20th of August) John Miller, esquire—Willm. Elson, esq.
 1705 (14th of July) William Elson, esquire (dead, new writ 15th of November, 1705)—Sir Thomas Littleton, baronet—Thomas Onslow, esquire
 1707 (23d of October) Thomas Onslow, esquire—Sir Edward Littleton, baronet
 1708 (8th of July) Captain Thomas Carr, Pallant—Sir Richard Farington, baronet, in the house now Mrs. Smith's.
 1710 (25th of November) Sir Richard Farington, baronet—Sir John Miller, of Lavant, baronet

1713

* The first summons sent to Chichester to send two citizens as their representatives to parliament, was in the twenty-third of Edward I, A. D. 1295. (Vide Rolls of Parliament.)

- 1713 (12th of November) William Elson, of Groves, esquire—
The honourable James Brudenell
- 1714 (17th of March) Sir Richard Farington, baronet, (dead,
24th of November, 1719)—Thomas Miller, of Grayling-
Well, esquire—Henry Kelsall, esquire
- 1722 (10th of May) The earl of March, son of the first duke of
Richmond, succeeded his father as duke of Richmond,
9th of January, 1723-4—Sir Thomas Miller, baronet—
The right honourable William Beauchamp
- 1727 (28th of November) The honourable Charles Lumley, of
Stansted (deceased 1728-9)—Right honourable William
Beauchamp (deceased 1731-2)—The honourable James
Lumley—Sir Thomas Pendergast, baronet
- 1734 (13th of June) The honourable James Brudenell—Colonel
Thomas Yates, of the South-street, Chichester
- 1741 (25th of June) The honourable James Brudenell (deceased,
11th of August, 1746)—John Page, of Watergate, esquire
—The right honourable George Keppell, commonly called
lord viscount Bury
- 1747 (13th of August) John Page, esquire—Lord viscount Bury,
son of lord Albermarle
- 1754 (31st of May) Lord viscount Bury, succeeded his father as
earl of Albermarle, 8th of January, 1755—John Page,
esquire—The honourable Augustus Keppell
- 1761 (19th of May) Lord viscount Downe, of the kingdom of
Ireland—James Whitshed, esquire
- 1768 (10th of May) The right honourable William Keppell—The
right honourable Thomas Conolly
- 1774 (29th of November) The honourable William Keppell—
The right honourable Thomas Conolly
- 1780 (31st of October) The honourable William Keppell, deceased
—Thomas Steele, esquire—The honourable Percy Charles
Wyndham, brother to lord Egremont

- 1784 (18th of May) Thomas Steele, esquire—George White Thomas, esquire
 1790 (10th of August) Thomas Steele, esquire, paymaster of the forces, vacated and re-elected—George White Thomas, esquire—The right honourable Thomas Steele
 1796 (12th of July) The right honourable Thomas Steele, king's remembrancer in the exchequer, vacated—George White Thomas, esquire—The right honourable Thomas Steele, re-elected
 1802 (8th of July) The right honourable Thomas Steele—George White Thomas, esquire

THE FOLLOWING ARE

The present Representatives from Sussex :

- For the COUNTY—Major General Lennox, and J. Fuller, esq.
 CHICHESTER—Rt. Hon. T. Steele, and G. W. Thomas, esq.
 ARUNDEL—Lord viscount Andover, and John Atkins, esq.
 BRAMBER—George Sutton, esq. and Henry Joddrell, esq.
 EAST-GRINSTED—Sir H. Strachey, bart. and D. Giles, esq.
 HASTINGS—Lord Glenbervie, and G. W. Gunning, esq.
 HORSHAM—E. C. Hilliard, esq. and Patrick Ross, esq.
 LEWES—Lord F. G. Osborne, and H. Shelley, junr. esq.
 MIDHURST—G. Smith, esq. and S. Smith, esq.
 RYE—Sir C. Talbot, and T. Davis Lamb, esq.
 SEAFORD—C. R. Ellis, esq. and R. J. Sullivan, esq.
 SHOREHAM—Sir C. Bishop, baronet, F. R. S. and Timothy Shelley, esq.
 STEYNING—J. M. Lloyd, esq. and R. Hurst, esq.
 WINCHELSEA—R. Ladbroke, esq. and W. Moffat, esq.

A TABLE,

Shewing the duration of the several Parliaments from the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. to the present time.

<i>Monarchs.</i>	<i>When met.</i>	<i>When dissolved.</i>
Henry VIII.	21 Jan. 1509	23 Feb. 1509
	4 Feb. 1511	4 March, 1513
	5 Feb. 1514	22 Dec. 1515
	15 April 1523	13 Aug. 1523
	3 Nov. 1530	4 April, 1531
	8 June 1531	18 July, 1536
	8 April 1539	24 July, 1540
	16 Jan. 1541	29 March, 1544
	23 Nov. 1545	31 Jan. 1547
	4 Nov. 1547	15 April, 1552
Edward VI.	4 March, 1553	31 March, 1553
Mary	5 Oct. 1553	6 Dec. 1553
	2 April 1554	5 May, 1554
	12 Nov. 1554	16 Jan. 1555
Elizabeth	21 Oct. 1555	9 Dec. 1555
	20 Jan. 1557	17 Nov. 1557
	23 Jan. 1558	8 May, 1558
	11 Jan. 1562	2 Jan. 1567
	2 April, 1571	29 May, 1571
	8 May 1572	18 March, 1580
	23 Nov. 1585	14 Sept. 1586
	29 Oct. 1586	23 March, 1587
	4 Feb. 1588	29 March, 1588
	19 Nov. 1592	10 April, 1593
	24 Oct. 1597	9 Feb. 1598
	7 Oct. 1601	29 Dec. 1601
	19 Mar. 1603	9 Feb. 1611
James I.	5 April, 1614	7 June, 1614
	30 Jan. 1626	8 Feb. 1621
	19 Feb. 1623	24 March, 1625
Charles I.	17 May 1625	12 Aug. 1625
	6 Feb. 1626	15 June 1626
	17 March, 1627	10 March, 1628
	13 April, 1640	3 May, 1640
	3 Nov. 1640	20 April, 1653
Charles II.	25 April, 1660	29 Dec. 1660
	8 May, 1661	24 Jan. 1678

<i>Monarchs.</i>	<i>When met.</i>	<i>When dissolved.</i>
	6 March, 1679	12 July, 1679
	17 Oct. 1679	18 Jan. 1681
	21 March, 1681	21 March, 1681
James II.	12 March, 1685	28 July, 1687
	22 Jan. 1688	26 Feb. 1689
William III.	20 March, 1689	11 Oct. 1695
	27 Nov. 1695	7 July, 1698
	24 Aug. 1698	19 Dec. 1699
	26 Feb. 1700	11 Nov. 1701
	30 Dec. 1701	7 July, 1702
Anne	20 Aug. 1702	5 April, 1705
	14 June, 1705	15 April, 1708
	8 July, 1708	21 Sept. 1710
	25 Nov. 1710	8 August, 1713
	12 Nov. 1713	15 Jan. 1715
George I.	17 March, 1715	10 March, 1721
	10 May, 1722	5 Aug. 1727
George II.	28 Nov. 1727	18 April, 1734
	13 June, 1734	28 April, 1741
	25 June, 1741	18 June, 1747
	13 Aug. 1747	8 April, 1754
	31 May, 1754	20 March, 1761
George III.	6 Nov. 1761	12 March, 1768
	10 May, 1768	30 Sep. 1774
	29 Nov. 1774	1 Sep. 1780
	31 Oct. 1780	25 March, 1784
	18 May, 1784	11 June, 1790
	25 Nov. 1790	20 May, 1796
	27 Sep. 1796	29 June, 1802
	29 Oct. 1802	

From a careful attention to the preceeding table (the authority and accuracy of which may be depended on) the following facts may be deduced. First—It appears that since the year 1509, (when it is generally believed the duration of Parliaments was extended beyond one year) only four parliaments have been of longer duration than seven years—and seven more than six years; and that of the rest, only six have lasted more than five years; two above four; and two above three.—Secondly, That from 1509 to 1715, the average duration of parliaments was something less than four years—and since that time about six years and a quarter.

THE MAYORS,

From the year 1531 to the year 1803.

1531	1559 Peter Topott
1532 Robert Bowyer	1560 John Cook
1533 John Mollins	1561 Thomas Farrington
1534 John Lane	1562 Thomas Hitchcock
1535 John Hardham	1563 Thomas Adams
1536 Elisha Bradshaw	1564 Lawrance Adrew
1537 Elisha Bradshaw	1565 John Moyse
1538 William Broadbridge	1566 William Barcomb
1539 John Boyes	1567 John Diggins
1540 John Castleman	1568 Ralph Chandler
1541 Robert Bowyer	1569 John Thecomb
1542 John Mollins	1570 Thomas Blake
1543 August. Cresweller	1571 Thomas Farrington
1544 John Lane	1572 John Cook
1545 John Blandford	1573 Thomas Adams
1546 Robert Bowyer	1574 Ralph Chandler
1547 John Knott	1575 John Moyes
1548 John Diggins	1576 Thomas Stillman
1549 Thomas Hitchcock	1577 Thomas Blake
1550 Bryant Banks	1578 John Cook
1551 Robert Bowyer	1579 Thomas Adams
1552 John Knott	1580 William Holland
1553 Nicholas Exton	1581 Robert Smith
1554 Richard King	1582 Robert Adams
1555 John Castleman	1583 Ralph Chandler
1556 John Diggins	1584 Thomas Turges
1557 John Ward	1585 John Farrington
1558 Robert Payne	1586 George Chatfield

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|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1587 August. Hitchcock | 1619 Thomas Collins |
| 1588 William Holland | 1620 Henry Shelly |
| 1589 Edward Manning | 1621 John Shalat |
| 1590 John Cawley | 1622 Richard Triggs, died June |
| 1591 Thomas Hill | 1, and Edward Lawrance |
| 1592 Robert Adams | served out |
| 1593 John Farrington | 1623 John Greenfield |
| 1594 John Roemen | 1624 Peter Fox |
| 1595 John Lyving | 1625 George Green |
| 1596 Richard Reese | 1626 William Strudwick |
| 1597 William Holland | 1627 John Hobson |
| 1598 Ralph Chandler | 1628 John Pannet |
| 1599 George Chatfield, died the | 1629 Thomas Farrington |
| 4th of May, and August. | 1630 Benjamin Hooke |
| Hitchcock served out | 1631 Thomas Collins |
| 1600 Edward Manning | 1632 Henry Chitty |
| 1601 John Cawley | 1633 John Greenfield |
| 1602 Richard Greenfield | 1634 John Palmer |
| 1603 Thomas Hills | 1635 Stephen Humphrey |
| 1604 Thomas Byret | 1636 William Handshaw |
| 1605 John Comber | 1637 George Green |
| 1606 Robert Adams | 1638 John Hobson |
| 1607 Peter Palmer | 1639 John Pannet |
| 1608 Edward Laurance | 1640 Thomas Farrington |
| 1609 John Exton | 1641 Robert Exton |
| 1610 Thomas Briggham | 1642 John Bartholomew |
| 1611 John Ransom | 1643 Thomas Ball |
| 1612 Richard Kere | 1644 Robert Colpis |
| 1613 John Cawley | 1645 Nicholas Dallender |
| 1614 George Adams | 1646 Thomas Collins |
| 1615 Benjamin Hooke | 1647 John Palmer |
| 1616 William Strudwick | 1648 Edward Hobson |
| 1617 Thomas Norton | 1649 Stephen Humphrey |
| 1618 Thomas Farrington | 1650 Thomas Farrington |
| | 1651 Nicholas |

1651 Nicholas Exton	1682 Robert Thornden
1652 Randolph Tuttee	1683 Robert Tayer
1653 Thomas Wheeler	1684 Robert Tayer
1654 John Aylwin	1685 William Costellow
1655 Richard Manning	1686 Henry Peckham
1656 William Stamper	1687 Richard Mannings, dismissed by order of council,
1657 John Wood	Robert Hastling served out
1658 Francis Hobson	1688 George Stamper, dismissed by proclamation, and F. Goater served out
1659 Richard Mitchell	1689 John Cloudesley
1660 William Burry	1690 Richard Dally
1661 Anthony Williams	1691 Robert Thornden
1662 John Greenfield, died 5th March, and Mark Miller served out	1692 Richard Brooman
1663 Nicholas Exten	1693 Robert Smith
1664 Thomas Burry	1694 John Sedgwick
1665 Edward Exton	1695 Francis Goater
1666 Thomas Valler	1696 John Sowton
1667 Richard Young	1697 John Cloudesley
1668 William Day, died 6 Oct. and T. Miller served out	1698 Richard Dally
1669 Stephen Penfold	1699 Robert Hastling
1670 Richard Brooman	1700 Thomas Hammond
1671 William Burry	1701 William Costellow
1672 Francis Hobson	1702 John Sherer
1673 Robert Baker	1703 John Sowton
1674 Edward Exton	1704 Robert Smith
1675 Richard Young	1705 Richard Godman
1676 Thomas Valler	1706 Sir John Miller, baronet
1677 Stephen Penfold	1707 James Vavasor
1678 Thomas Miller	1708 Thomas Carr
1679 William Jennings	1709 John Elson
1680 William Costellow	1710 Thomas Hammond
1681 Henry Peckham	1711 John Lang

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|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1712 John Cloudesley | 1744 Charles duke of Richmond |
| 1713 Richard Nash | 1745 Thomas Wall |
| 1714 William Collins | 1746 John Butler |
| 1715 Thomas Nevill | 1747 Robert Norton |
| 1716 Thomas Hammond | 1748 Sir John Miller, baronet |
| 1717 John Sowton | 1749 Gideon Murray |
| 1718 Nicholas Covert | 1750 James Clayton |
| 1719 John Lang | 1751 Henry Smart |
| 1720 John Costellow | 1752 Joseph Baker |
| 1721 William Collins | 1753 Richard Buckner |
| 1722 Henry Peckham | 1754 Robert Bull |
| 1723 George Harris | 1755 Yarrel Johnson |
| 1724 John Harris | 1756 Gideon Murray |
| 1725 John Lang | 1757 John Murray |
| 1726 Benjamin Covert | 1758 Richard Baker |
| 1727 George Murray | 1759 William Higgens |
| 1728 Henry Peckham | 1760 Joseph Baker |
| 1729 John Sanden | 1761 William Fletcher, died the |
| 1730 Francis Sone | 10th of August, and J. |
| 1731 Benjamin Covert | Baker served out |
| 1732 Henry Peckham | 1762 Edward Blaxton |
| 1733 John Sanden | 1763 Lord George Lennox |
| 1734 Robert Norton | 1764 John Shore |
| 1735 Charles duke of Richmond | 1765 Francis Dear |
| 1736 Peter Buck | 1766 Robert Norton |
| 1737 Thomas Till, died 14th of | 1767 William Smith |
| August, and Peter Buck | 1768 William Johnson |
| served out | 1769 Thomas Jones |
| 1738 Robert North | 1770 Thomas Sanden |
| 1739 Thomas Sanden | 1771 Yarrel Johnson |
| 1740 John Dear | 1772 Lord George Lennox |
| 1741 Thomas Wall | 1773 Richard Buckner |
| 1742 William Battine | 1774 John Covert |
| 1743 Thomas Langrish | 1775 Richard West |

1776 John Peerman	1789 James Harvey
1777 William Knott	1790 Loftus Nunn
1778 Richard North	1791 Robert Quennell
1779 Henry Mullins, died 5th of March, and R. North served out	1792 John Blagden
	1793 John Crawford
1780 William Johnson	1794 Richard Murray
1781 Richard Halsey	1795 Thomas Jones
1782 John Dearling	1796 John Clement
1783 Charles Buckner	1797 John Newland
1784 John Newland	1798 John Drew
1785 John Drew	1799 William Ridge
1786 William Smith	1800 John Murray
1787 William Ridge	1801 John Blagden
1788 John Murray	1802 General Lennox
	1803 John Crawford

AN ACCOUNT OF

The Population of the City of Chichester :

Taken at different Times.

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Inhabitants.</i>	<i>Houses.</i>
1739.....	4030.....	not mentioned.
1740.....	3712.....	783
1762.....	3610.....	767
1769.....	3970.....	859
1774.....	4203.....	844
1801.....	4684.....	not mentioned.

Particular

Particular Account of the Survey taken in April 1801.

<i>Parishes.</i>	<i>Inhabitants.</i>
Saint Andrew.....	573
All Saints.....	237
Subdeanry, in the city.....	1435
Ditto, in the county.....	170
Saint Martin.....	303
Saint Olave.....	244
Saint Peter the Less.....	345
Saint Pancrass, in the city.....	270
Ditto, in the county.....	661
Saint Bartholomew.....	259
The Close.....	187
	<hr/>
	4684
Population in the year 1774,	4203
	<hr/>
Increase in 27 years,	481
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There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the survey of 1801, unless it should be suspected that it, as well as the general survey of the kingdom then had, was taken at the desire of the ministry, who doubtless were solicitous that the population of the kingdom should appear increased, and not diminished, after a long destructive war, in which so many lives were lost. In general, the wish of administration was known; and in some instances, no doubt, influenced the returns that were made: that it did so in Chichester I do not maintain. Perhaps the former surveys included only the inhabitants of the city and Close, and did not take in those in the county belonging to the parishes of the Subdeanry and saint Pancrass. In that case there would be a deficit in the population of 1801 of three hundred and fifty, compared with

with that of 1774—which certainly was not the case. On the other hand, if we allow, as we ought to do, that the population of the city, in the last thirty years, has increased—the number (almost five hundred) is far too high to be credited by the intelligent investigator of cause and effect. From 1739 to 1762, there is a falling away of more than four hundred : which may very well be : all the intervening years, abating a few, being years of war, and some of them of scarcity. And every person in the least conversant in these matters, knows that the population of every place (except places of amusement) almost entirely depends upon the quantity of productive labour to be found there, and the price of provisions. And war, at the same time that it enhances the price of the necessaries of life, strikes at the very root of productive labour, by stopping the exportation of our manufactures.

LIST

Of the Corporation of the City of Chichester,

At MICHAELMAS 1803.

Charles, duke of Richmond, high-steward, &c.

Constituted 1753.

John Crawford, mayor
 Robert Steele, recorder
 Richard Wilmot, deputy-recorder

ALDERMEN.

Rt. Hon. Lord G. Lennox
 Charles Buckner
 John Newland
 John Drew
 William Ridge
 John Murray
 Loftus Nunn
 John Blagden
 Richard Murray
 John Clement
 Charles Lennox

Edward Johnson, town-clerk

BAILIFFS.

Rt. Hon. Thomas Steele
 Thomas Trew
 William Johnson, junior
 Samuel Cobby
 Thomas Rhoades
 John Quantock
 John Legg
 John Geast
 James Sholto Douglas
 Thomas Peerman

COMMON-COUNCIL.

William Battine
 Sir Thomas Miller, baronet
 Christopher Teesdale

Richard Godman Temple
 Thomas Haines
 Jacob Pope
 William Fowler
 Alexander Williams
 Francis Diggins
 Hon. Percy Charles Wyndham
 Edward Pasco
 Hon. G. Cranfield Berkeley
 John Sargent
 William Wittman
 Earl Bathurst
 John Macfarland
 George Sedgwick Wilmot
 Thomas Chaldecott
 Kempster Knight
 John Utterson
 William Humphry
 Heneage Girod
 William Charles Newland
 Richard Merricks
 William Hardham
 Gideon Newland
 Edward Utterson
 Charles Hewitt Smith
 John Plaisto
 John Gage
 William Tireman
 George Murray
 Miles Rowe
 James Powell
 Gideon Murray

APPENDIX.

*The CHARTERS of CHICHESTER.**

K. STEPHEN.

S. Rex Ang. Epo. Cicestri & ppositis Sal. P-cipio qd Burgenses mei de Cicestr: ita bn & honorifice & qite hant eoru: Consuet & rectitudines de Burgo & de gilda eoru: mercatoria sicuti eas meli: & honorabili: & quiete huert: tpe Willmi reg—Avi mei & Avunculor meor: postea & tpe Rogi: Com: Et defend: sup: mea: forisfactura: ne Aliqs eis injuriam faciat.

Ap Rading.

T: EPO: WINT.

IN ENGLISH.

Stephen, king of England, to the bishop and magistrates of Chichester, greeting—I ordain that my burgesses of Chichester, so well, honourably and peaceably enjoy the customs and regulations of their borough, and their merchant-guild, as they did enjoy them in the best manner, honourably and peaceably, in the

Q Q

time

* On examining an Inspeximus it appears that almost all the kings of England after the Conquest to the Revolution granted, or rather issued, letters of charter and confirmation to this, and the other boroughs of the kingdom. They studied to increase the importance and power of the corporations, and the fines which each of them paid into the exchequer, on every renewal, might induce them to issue them the oftener.

time of king William, my grandfather, and of my uncles afterwards, and in the time of earl Roger. And I will defend them from forfeiture, that no one shall do them any injury.

At Reading.

Witness—The BISHOP of WINCHESTER.

K. HENRY II.

H. Rex Angl: & Dux Norm: & Aqt: & Com: And: Justic: & Vic: & Ministris suis Totius Angl: Sal: Sciatis me Concessisse civib: meis de Cicestr: q st de gilda mercatoria Onis: libertates & libas: qsuetines suas infra Burgu: & Exta ut eas habeant; iiq: ita plene & libe & qete & honorifice sic: plene & honorificenti hre solebant tpe Regis Henr: avi mei et nullus in Civitate Cicestr: vendat pannos p detaillum n: sit de gilda mercatoria;—sit: ide: Rex H. p. Br: suum p-cepit: Qr: volo & firmit: p-cipio qd ipsi hant & teneant gilda sua: c: omnib: libertatib: & Consuetudinib: ad cam ptinentib: sit: meli solebat hre tpe Regis Henr: neqs eis sup: hoc forisfacere psumat.—T: Reg: Com: Corn: Henr: de Essex Con: Rauulfo de Broc.

Apud Brugiax.

IN ENGLISH.

Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to his sheriffs, and officers of all England—greeting. Know ye that I have granted to my citizens of Chichester, who are of the merchant guild, that both within the borough and without, they have all their liberties and free customs, and enjoy them as fully, freely, peaceably and honourably, as they were used fully and honourably to enjoy them, in the time of king Henry my grandfather. And no person shall sell cloth by retail in the city of Chichester, unless he be of the merchants' guild, as the said king Henry ordained by his writ. Wherefore I will,

will, and firmly ordain, that they have and hold their guild, with every liberty and custom pertaining to the same, as they were used to have them in the best manner, in the time of king Henry, and that no one presume to make them forfeit on that account.

Witness—REGINALD, earl of Cornwall.

HENRY, constable of Essex.

RALPH DE BROC.

At Bruges.



K. JAMES II.

(GRANTED IN THE YEAR 1685.)

JAMES the second, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to all unto whom our present letters shall come—greeting.

Whereas our city of Chichester, in the county of Sussex, is an antient and populous city. We therefore graciously desiring the bettering the said city, and willing that from henceforth for ever there may be one certain and undoubted way of and for keeping our peace in the said city continually, and for the good order and government of the said city, and our people inhabiting the same, and resorting thither, and that the said city, in all times to come, may be and remain a city of peace and quietness, to the fear and terror of the wicked, and encouragement of the good; and that our peace, and other acts of justice and good government there, may be better kept and done; and expecting that if the citizens of the same city, and their successors, shall by our royal grant, enjoy dignity, liberty, privilege, jurisdiction and franchise, then they may think themselves more particularly and strongly obliged to yield and perform to us, our heirs, and successors, all the service they are able, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, we have willed, ordained, granted, appointed, and declared, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do will, ordain, appoint, grant and declare that the said city of Chichester shall be and remain henceforward for ever, a free

city of itself, and that the citizens of the said city henceforward for ever, may and shall be one body corporate and politick, in deed, fact, and name, by the name of the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city of Chichester. And we, for us, our heirs, and successors, do erect, make, and create them by these presents, into one body corporate and politick, really and fully, by the name of the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city of Chichester, and that they may have perpetual succession by the same name; and that they by the name of the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city of Chichester, may, and shall be, in all times to come, fit persons, and capable in law, to have, purchase, receive, hold and possess lands, tenements, liberties, privileges, franchises, hereditaments, goods, and chattels, of what sort, nature, or kind soever, for themselves, their heirs, and successors, in fee, and perpetuity, and also to give, grant, demise, and assign the same lands and tenements, hereditaments, goods, and chattels, and to do and execute all and singular other acts and deeds, by the name aforesaid. And that by the name of the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city of Chichester aforesaid, they may and can be able to plead and be impleaded, to answer and to be answered, to defend and to be defended, in any courts and places, and before any judges and justices, and other persons and officers of us, our heirs, and successors, in all and singular actions, suites, complaints, causes, and demands whatsoever, of what sort, nature, condition, or kind soever they be, in the same manner and form as other our liege people of this our kingdom of England, may or can be fit persons, and capable in law, or as any other body corporate, may have, purchase, receive, possess, give, grant, and demise lands, tenements and hereditaments, also goods, and chattels; and that the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city aforesaid, may have for ever a common seal, to be kept for the demising, granting, and acting, making and executing other matters and businesses, for them and their successors. And it shall and may be lawful for them, the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city aforesaid, and their successors, to break, change, and new make the said seal at
their

their will, from time to time, as it shall seem best to them to be done. And further, we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors do grant that there may and shall be in the said city, one eminent man who shall be and be called the high steward of the said city; and that from hence forward for ever, there may and shall be in the said city, one of the more honest and discreet citizens of the said city to be chosen in the manner hereafter expressed in these presents, who shall be and be called the mayor of the said city. And that likewise there shall and may be one honest and discreet citizen of the said city to be chosen in the manner hereafter expressed in these presents who shall be and be called bayliffe of the said city, and that the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, nominated by these presents, of the common-council, and hereafter to be nominated, also the bayliffe, portreves, and customers, recorder and his deputy, and town-clerk of the said city, for the time being and their successors, shall be and be called a common-council of the said city, and shall be from time to time assisting to the mayor of the said city for the time being, in all causes and matters touching and concerning the city aforesaid. And further we will, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city of Chichester aforesaid, and their successors, that the common-council of the said city for the time being, or the major part of them, may and shall have full power and authority to frame, constitute, ordain and make from time to time, such reasonable laws, statutes, ordinances and constitutions whatsoever, which to them or the major part of them, according to their sound discretions shall seem good and wholesome, useful, honest, and necessary for the good order and government of the citizens, artificers, and inhabitants of the said city, for the time being, and for the declaring in what form and order, as well the said mayor, aldermen, bayliff, portreves and customers of the said city, as all and singular the citizens, artificers, inhabitants and sojourners of the said city for the time being, should behave, carry, and use themselves

themselves in their offices, ministries, and businesses in the said city, and the precincts thereof, and otherwise for the further good and publick profit, government and advantage of the said city, and for the victualling of the said city, and for the levying of money for the use of us, our heirs, and successors, or for the necessary use of the said city, and also for the better preserving, governing, disposing, leasing, and demising the lands, tenements, possessions, revenues, reversions, and hereditaments, given, granted, assigned, and confirmed to the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the said city, or to their predecessors, by any other name of incorporation, or to be given, granted, or assigned to the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the said city, and their successors, for the future, and for the accounts, things, and other causes, and matters whatsoever, of the said city, or touching, or any ways concerning the constitution, right and interest of the said city, and that the said common-council of the said city for the time being, or the major part thereof, so oft as they shall frame, make and establish such laws, statutes, and ordinances, as is mentioned in the form aforesaid, may impose and assess such reasonable pains, penalties, punishments, imprisonments of the body, fines and amerciaments, or any of them, in or upon all offenders against the said laws, statutes, and ordinances, or either or all of them, as to the said common-council, or the major part of them, shall seem reasonable and requisite as above-mentioned, and the same fines and amerciaments they may and shall levy, by distress or any other legal way whatsoever, to the proper use and behoof of the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the said city, and their successors, without any accounts, or any other thing, to be given thereof, to us, our heirs, and successors, and without the hindrance of us, our heirs, and successors, all and singular, which laws, statutes, and ordinances so to be made, as is before mentioned, we will have observed under the penalties contained in the same, yet so that such laws, statutes, ordinances, imprisonments and amerciaments, be not repugnant or contrary to the laws, statutes, customs, or rights

rights of our kingdom of England. And further, we have assigned, constituted, nominated, and made, and by these presents do nominate, constitute and make our most noble cousin Charles duke of Somerset to be the first and present lord high steward of the said city. And further, we have assigned, constituted, nominated and made, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do assign, constitute, nominate and make our beloved Robert Tayer, now mayor of the said city, to be the first and modern mayor of the said city, willing that the said Robert shall be and continue in the said office of mayor of the said city, from the making of these presents unto the Monday before the feast of saint Michael the archangel, next ensuing, and from that day till some other be chosen, preferred and sworn to the said office, according to the orders and constitutions in these presents hereafter expressed and declared, if the said Robert Tayer shall so long live. We have also assigned, constituted and made, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors do assign, nominate, constitute and make our beloved John Cloudsley, now bayliff of the said city, to be the first and modern bayliff of the said city, to continue in the said office till the said Monday before the feast of saint Michael the archangel, next ensuing, and from that day till some other be chosen, preferred and sworn to the said office, according to the ordinances, and constitutions in these presents expressed and declared, if the said John Cloudsley shall so long live. And further we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do grant unto the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city aforesaid, that the common-council of the said city, or the major part thereof, from time to time, in all times to come, shall and may have power and authority yearly and every year, upon Monday before the feast of saint Michael the archangel, to assemble themselves, or the major part of them, in the guildhall of the said city, or in any other convenient place within the said city, to be limited and assigned according to their discretions, and there to continue till they, or the major part of them then assembled, shall choose and

and nominate one of the citizens of the said city, to be mayor, and another of the said citizens to be bayliff of the said city, for the year next ensuing, and that they after they shall be so (as is mentioned) elected and nominated mayor and bayliff of the said city respectively, before they are admitted, to execute the said several offices, shall take their corporal oaths upon the holy gospel of God yearly, upon the said Monday before the feast of saint Michael the archangel, before the last mayor his predecessor (who for the time shall be) according to the antient custom of the said city, well and faithfully to execute the said offices respectively in all things relating to the said offices, and after the said oaths so taken, the said offices of mayor and bayliff of the said city, till the said Monday before the feast of saint Michael the archangel, next ensuing, shall respectively hold, and further from thence ought, may and can execute the same respectively till two others, to the said several offices of mayor and bayliff of the city aforesaid, in due manner, by the said common-council, as is before mentioned, shall be chosen, preferred, and sworn. And further, we will, and by these presents, for us, or heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the said city, and their successors, that if it shall happen that the mayor and bayliff of the said city, or either of them, should die at any time hereafter, within one year after they shall be appointed and sworn, as is before mentioned, to the offices of mayor and bayliff of the said city, that then and so often it shall and may be lawful for the common-council of the said city for the time being, or the major part of them, in convenient time, after the death of the said mayor and bayliff, or either of them to assemble in the guildhall of the said city, or in any other place convenient in the said city, and forthwith to choose, nominate and appoint another good and fit man, or other good and fit men in the place or places of such mayor or bayliff so dead respectively, and that they or either of them being so chosen or appointed, as is aforesaid, their corporal oaths being first to be taken, according to the antient custom of the

the

the said city, shall have and exercise the said offices, or either of them, shall have and exercise the said office during the residue of the same year, namely until Monday before the feast of saint Michael the archangel, next ensuing, and from thence till some others are chosen and sworn to the said office or offices, and so as often as the same case shall happen. And further, we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the said city, and their successors, that they and their successors, shall have for ever one good and discreet man, learned in the laws of this our realm of England, to be chosen and nominated by the common-council of the said city, or the major part of them, from time to time, hereafter, who shall be and be called recorder of the said city, to continue in the said office of recorder so long as he behaves himself well in the same—which recorder so to be chosen and nominated by the common-council of the said city, or the major part thereof, shall make and take his corporal oath before the mayor for the time being, faithfully to execute the said office, before he be admitted to the said office of recorder. And further—idem—that they and their successors shall and may have one good and discreet man, to be chosen and nominated from time to time hereafter by the said common-council, or the major part of them, who shall be and be called the common-clerk, or town-clerk of the said city, to continue the said office of common-clerk as long as he shall behave himself well in the same—which common-clerk, as is mentioned to be nominated and chosen, shall take and make his corporal oath before the mayor for the time being, well and faithfully to execute the said office before he shall be admitted to the said office of town-clerk. We will also—idem—that the mayor of the said city for the time being, shall and may have power, ability and authority to nominate, choose, and swear from time to time, fit men to the several offices of portreeve and customer of the said city, in the same manner and form as hath been heretofore accustomed in the said city. We have granted moreover,

and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant to the mayor, aldermen and citizens of the said city, and their successors, that the mayor, recorder, and deputy-recorder of the said city, and their successors, during the time they shall happen to continue in the said offices respectively, and also one alderman of the said city for the time being, who was the last mayor of the said city, and three others of the more honest, circumspect and skilful, or the senior aldermen of the said city for the time being, yearly and every year, upon Monday next before the feast of saint Michael the archangel, may and shall be nominated and chosen by the common-council of the said city for the time being, or by the major part thereof, our justices, and every of them, shall and may be our justices, and of our heirs and successors, as well to keep the peace in the said city, and the liberties and precincts thereof, as to do and execute all and singular the things in any manner touching or concerning the office of a justice of the peace. Which mayor and three aldermen shall severally make and take their oath before the last mayor for the time being, well and faithfully to execute the office of justice of the peace, before they or any of them shall execute the said office within the said city or liberties thereof. And moreover we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant that the said mayor, recorder and deputy-recorder, and four aldermen of the said city, or any three of them, whereof the mayor and recorder, or his deputy, or the alderman who was last mayor of the said city for the time being, we will have to be two, shall or may have for ever full power and authority to enquire, hear and determine in the said city, and the liberties and precincts thereof, as well in our presence, and of our heirs and successors, as absence, all and all manner of murthers, felonies, misprisions, riots, routs, oppressions, extortions, forestallings, regratings, trespasses, offences, and all other things whatsoever within the said city, the liberties and precincts thereof, from time to time, arising or happening, which any ways belong to, or are incumbent on, or which hereafter may happen

happen to belong to, or be incumbent on the office of a justice of peace, or which any way ought or may be enquired into, heard, and determined before the justice of the peace, together with due correction and punishment thereof, and to do and execute all other things within the said city and the liberties thereof, as fully and perfectly, and in as ample manner and form as the justices of our peace, and of our heirs and successors, in the county of Sussex, or elsewhere within our kingdom of England, by virtue of any commission, act of parliament, statute, law or custom, or any other lawful ways whatsoever heretofore have had or exercised, and hereafter may or can have and exercise, and in as ample manner and form as if the same in these letters patents had been specially, and by particular words expressed, contained, and recited. And that the justices of our peace, our heirs and successors, in the county of Sussex aforesaid, or any of them, do not any ways hereafter intermeddle in the city of Chichester, the liberties or precincts thereof, nor have or exercise any jurisdiction in any causes, things, or matters whatsoever, any way belonging to or incumbent on the justices of the peace within the city aforesaid, the liberties and precincts thereof, or which hereafter may belong to, or be incumbent on them, from any cause, or in any time arising and happening without our special command or commission, our heirs and successors, in that part to be obtained. And that the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city aforesaid, and their successors, may have, hold, and receive all and singular the fines and amerciaments to be assessed, perfected, judged, proceeding, happening, or arising before the said justices of the peace in the said city, before any or either of them, for ever hereafter. And that it shall and may be lawful for the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the said city, and their successors, from time to time, as often as there shall be need to collect and levy such fines, issues, and amerciaments, adjudged or to be adjudged, or assessed, by the steward or other officers of the said city, who now are, or for the time shall be, to the use

of the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the said city, and their successors, as the sheriff and officers or ministers of us, our heirs and successors, may, could, or ought to receive and levy the same, for the use of us, our heirs and successors, if they had not been granted to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, and their successors, without any account or other thing to be given, made or paid therefore to us, our heirs, and successors. And further, idem, that every mayor of the city of Chichester for the time being, shall be our escheator, and of our heirs and successors, within the said city and precincts thereof, during the whole time he shall be and continue in the said office of mayor of the said city. And the said escheator, and his successors, may have full power and authority to do and execute all and singular the things in the city aforesaid, which belong to the office of our escheator, our heirs and successors, in any county in our kingdom of England, to be done or executed, he having first taken the oath before the last mayor for the time being, well and faithfully to execute and perform the said office of escheator in all things ; and that no other escheator, for us, our heirs, and successors, do any way intermeddle in the city of Chichester aforesaid, or in the liberties or precincts thereof. We have also assigned, nominated, appointed and made, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do assign, nominate, constitute, and make our beloved sir Richard May, knight, and one of the barons of our exchequer at Westminster, to be the first and modern recorder of the said city, to continue in the said office as long as he shall well behave himself in the same, taking first his corporal oath before Robert Tayer, or Stephen Penfold, or either of them, upon the holy gospel, well and truly to execute the said office of recorder and justice of the peace of the said city, to which Robert Tayer or Stephen Penfold, or either of them, we give and grant by these presents, full power and authority to administer the said oath to the said sir Richard May, without any other warrant or commission in that part to be procured and obtained of us, our heirs and successors,

successors. We will also, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, declare it to be our royal intention that it shall and may be lawful, as well for the said sir Richard May, as for all succeeding recorders of the said city, to appoint another man learned in the laws of England, deputy-recorder, to continue in the said office during the pleasure of the common-council of the said city, or the major part of them, having first taken his corporal oath before the mayor of the city for the time being, well and faithfully to execute the office of recorder and justice of the peace in the said city, in all things, and so often as the case shall so happen. We have also assigned, constituted, nominated, and made, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do assign, nominate, constitute, and make our beloved Thomas Bury, Thomas Miller, Stephen Penfold, Richard Braman, Robert Baker, William Jennings, William Costellow, Henry Peckham, and Robert Thornden, to be our citizens and aldermen of the said city, to continue in the said offices so long as they severally behave themselves well in the same. We have also assigned, nominated, constituted, and made our entirely beloved cousin Charles duke of Somerset, and our well beloved and right trusty cousin Charles earl of Dorset and Middlesex, and Edward earl of Gainsborough, and also our beloved and trusty subject sir Christopher Conyer, baronet, Henry Goring, baronet, sir John Stapely, knight and baronet, sir William Morley, knight of the bath, the said sir Richard May, John Farrington, knight, Henry Goring, esquire, John Lewkner, esquire, John Alford, esquire, Thomas May, esquire, Thomas Gunter, esquire, John Apsley, esquire, John Peckham, esquire, John Lawrance, esquire, the said Robert Tayer, William Browne, esquire, William Morley, esquire, Robert Tayer, junior, William Rowse, gentleman, Lambard Barnett, John Williams, Richard Manning, John Cloudesley, James Lane, John Wheeler, William Peckham, esquire, Thomas Brickley, esquire, Robert Edmonds, George Gunter, esquire, Henry Brickley, gentleman, Freeman Howse, esquire, Francis Goater, John Harris,

Harris, William Shipscay, Thomas Parker, John Page, William Booker, the present portreeves, and William Floid present customer, to be the citizens of the said city, and shall be of the common-council of the said city, and may and shall be aiding and assisting to the mayor of the said city, for the time being. We will nevertheless, that as well they as the aforesaid aldermen and bayliff of the said city before-mentioned, and every of them, shall first take their corporal oaths before Robert Tayer or sir Richard May, or either of them, well and faithfully to execute the said offices respectively. To which Robert Tayer, or sir Richard May, or either of them, we give and grant, by these presents, full power and authority to give and administer the said oath. We have also assigned—&c.—the said Thomas Miller, Stephen Penfold, Richard Braman, and William Jennings, to be the justices of the peace in the said city, to continue the said office till Monday next before the feast of saint Michael the archangel, and from thence till others are chosen, preferred and sworn to the said office, they having first taken their corporal oaths before Robert Tayer or sir Richard May, or either of them, well and perfectly to execute the said office in the said city; to whom the said Robert Tayer and sir Richard May, we do hereby give and grant by these presents, full power and authority to administer such oath to the said Thomas Miller, Stephen Penfold, Richard Braman, and William Jennings. We have also assigned—&c.—our beloved John Williams and William Rowse, gentlemen, to be our coroners of the said city, to continue the said office during the pleasure of the common-council of the said city, or the major part of them, to do and execute all things which belong to the office of coroner, within the said city and precincts thereof, they or either of them, first taking their oaths, as before, &c. We have also assigned—&c.—the said William Rowse to be the common-clerk and clerk of the recognizances of the said city, to do and execute all things which belong to the several offices of common clerk and clerk of the recognizances, he first taking the oath

as aforesaid. We will also that the said Robert Tayer, by these presents, mayor of the city aforesaid, before he be admitted to the execution of the several offices of mayor, justice of the peace, escheator, and clerk of the market, within the said city, shall first take his oath upon the holy gospel, before sir Richard May or Stephen Penfold, or either of them, well and faithfully to execute the said offices—to whom we have given power—as before.—

Provided always, and by these presents, we, for us, our heirs and successors, do reserve full power and authority from time to time, and at all times hereafter, at the will and pleasuse of us, our heirs and successors, by any order of ours, our heirs and successors, made in privy council, and under the seals of privy council, to remove, and to declare to be removed, the mayor, high steward, recorder, deputy recorder, coroner, town-clerk, clerk of the recognizances, bayliff, or any of the justices, aldermen, common-council, portreeves, and customers of the city aforesaid, for the time being, to them signified respectively, and as often as we, our heirs, and successors, by any such order made in privy council, do or shall declare such mayor, high-steward, &c. or any of them, to be removed from their respective offices, are and shall be ipso facto, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, and really without any farther process, removed, and this so often as it shall so happen, any thing to the contrary herein contained notwithstanding, and then, and in such case, from time to time, as often as the case shall so happen incontinent, after such remove, or removes, another fit person, or other fit persons, shall be chosen and constituted into the place and office, or into the respective places and offices, of such person or persons, so removed or to be removed, as before time has been accustomed in the said city, according to the tenor of these our letters patents.—

And further, of our more special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we will, and by these presents, do grant, for us, our heirs and successors, as much as in us lies, to the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the said city of Chichester, and their successors,

successors, that they hereafter for ever, may have and hold, in the name of us, our heirs and successors, a court of record in the guildhall of the said city of Chichester aforesaid, every Monday in every week, before the mayor of the said city, or his deputy for the time being, of all and all manner of pleas, plaints and actions, as well real as personal, and mixt, and of all debts, accounts, trespasses, agreements, contracts, detainers, and contempts, arising, happening, or to be prosecuted within the said city of Chichester, and jurisdiction thereof—and the same pleas, plaints, and actions, they may hear and determine and give judgment thereupon, and make out execution thereof for ever, in the same manner and form, and by the same, and by such like ways and process, by which, and as heretofore they have used in our said city ; and that all juries, pannels, inquisitions, attachments, precepts, orders, warrants, judgments, process, and other things, necessary to be done by them, touching and concerning the causes aforesaid, to be done and executed by the sergeant at mace, to be deputed and appointed by the mayor of the city for the time being, as the law requires and as heretofore hath been used in the said city. And that the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the said city, and their successors, shall and may have the use and benefit of the said city, and all manner of fines and amerciaments, and other profits, of and in the said court, arising, happening, and befalling, by reason or pretence of the said court. We have granted moreover—&c.—the court leet, law days, and view of frank pledge of all and singular the inhabitants and residents within the said city of Chichester, the limits, liberties, jurisdictions and precincts of the same, and all things belonging to the court leet and law-days, and view of frank pledge, to be held on the usual days, every year. And further, of our greater grace, we will for us, our heirs and successors, and by these presents do grant to the aforesaid mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city of Chichester, and their successors, that hereafter for ever, they may have and hold three markets in every week, in the said city of Chichester,

Chichester, to wit, one on every Wednesday, and another on every Friday, and another on every Saturday, to be held for ever—also one fair, to be held there yearly, upon the feast of saint George the martyr, and to continue and endure for two days then immediately following—together with a court of pie-powder, with all liberties and free customs belonging to the said markets and fair. We have granted moreover, and by these presents do grant of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, for us, our heirs and successors, to the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the said city of Chichester, and their successors, that they, and their successors, for ever, may have goods and chattels of felons, fugitives, and out-laws, tenants, residents, and inhabitants, within the city aforesaid, the liberties and precincts thereof, together with chattels called waives; so that if any one original tenant or resident inhabitant, ought to lose life and limb for his offence, or hath fled, refused to stand to judgment, or whatsoever fault he hath committed, by which his goods ought to be forfeited, or wheresoever justice ought to be done for the same within the court of us, or our heirs and successors, or in any other court, his goods and chattels then being within the said city and precincts thereof, shall be to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens and their successors, and that it may be lawful for them or their officers, without the let of us, our heirs and successors, sheriffs, bayliff, or other officers of us, or heirs and successors, to take possession of the said goods and chattels, and to have and keep them to the use of the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens, and their successors.—And further, we will and grant that they, and their successors, may have, for the better support of our said city, for ever, all fines, trespasses, and other offences whatsoever, and all post-fines and amerciaments, redemptions and issues heretofore forfeited, or hereafter to be forfeited, from any man or inhabitant of the city aforesaid, and residing in the same, in any of our courts, our heirs and successors, as well before us, our heirs and successors, in our chancery, also before the treasurers and barons of us, our heirs,

heirs and successors of our exchequer, before the justices of the bench of us, our heirs, and successors, or before the steward, marshall, and clerk of the market, of our household, our heirs and successors, which for the time shall be, and other the courts of us, our heirs and successors, as well as before the justices of assize, at all pleas, and pleas of the forest, and all other our justices and ministers whatsoever, and of our heirs and successors, as well in the presence as the absence of us, our heirs and successors, as often as men, tenants, and inhabitants, happen to make such fines and forfeits, and incur the amerciaments and issues, which may belong to us, our heirs and successors, if they had not been granted to the said mayor, aldermen and citizens; so that they, either by themselves, or by the bayliff or ministers, may levy, receive, and have such fines, amerciaments, redemptions, post-fines, issues, and forfeitures of the tenants and inhabitants, without the hindrance or action of us, our heirs and successors, our justices, escheators, sheriffs, coroners, or other bayliffs or ministers whatsoever, of us, our heirs, and successors. And also we will, that for the future, they shall and may have the return of writs and precepts, of us, our heirs and successors, and execution of the same, and summons out of the exchequer, within the city and liberties thereof, of all things, or any ways arising within the said city or liberties thereof, so that no sheriff, bayliff, or minister whatsoever of us, our heirs and successors, enter into the said city or the liberties thereof, to execute the said writs or summons and attachments, concerning pleas of the crown or others as aforesaid, or to do or execute any office there unless in full and true default of them, the mayor, aldermen and citizens, and their successors. We will, notwithstanding, and we declare and signify our royal will and pleasure, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we enjoin, command, and forbid the mayor, aldermen and citizens, and their successors, that no common vintner, inn-keeper, ale-seller, or baker, in the city aforesaid, or the liberties thereof, or any person exercising the
aforesaid

aforesaid trades, or either of them, there, at any time hereafter be chosen or admitted to the office of mayor or justice of the peace of the said city—but as to holding and executing the said offices of mayor and justice of peace, he is and shall be disabled and incapable unless such person fully and wholly leave his said trade respectively, before he shall be admitted to execute the said office of mayor and justice of peace, and do no way for the future directly or indirectly, intermeddle with or exercise the said trade any thing in these presents to the contrary notwithstanding. And we will that they and all the inhabitants of our said city, shall be quiet, and discharged from all suits belonging to the county, and of the hundred or sheriff, and that they for the future shall be quiet and discharged from tolls, lastage, passage, pontage, picage, scullage, pannage, murrage, or chimage, and other like customs and usages whatsoever, through all our kingdom of England, as the citizens and inhabitants of the said city, or liberties or precincts, have wont and been used to have been eased and discharged.—
 We have granted moreover, that none of them, or any inhabitants or residents within the said city, or liberties, or precincts thereof, be put or impanneled with foreigners or foreigner with them, in any juries, at the assizes, or any inquests taken which arise by reason of lands and tenements in the said city and liberties thereof, but that the juries of the said assizes and inquests, be made and taken only of the said citizens and others of the said city, unless the matter concern us, our heirs, and successors. And moreover, of our greater grace, and certain knowledge, and mere motion, we grant and ordain—&c.—that every mayor of the city of Chichester, for the time being, be clerk of the market, that he have, hold, and occupy the office of clerk of the market within the said city and the liberties and precincts thereof, together with all and singular the things any ways belonging to the said office. And that every mayor of the said city for the time being, may and do execute all things which belong to or are incumbent on the office of clerk of the market in the said city and liberties

thereof, first taking oath before the last mayor, his predecessor, well and faithfully to execute the said office without the trouble or hindrance of us, our heirs and successors, or any other ministers or officers whatsoever. We have granted also—&c.—that for ever hereafter they shall or may make and have within the said city and liberties thereof, assize and assay of bread, wine, ale, and other victuals, also of measures and weights whatsoever—that they and their successors, for the better keeping of the assize in the said city and liberties thereof, may and shall take such punishments of bakers, and such as break the assize (namely, to draw such bakers and such as break the assize, upon tumblers, through the streets of the said city, and punish them in any other way) as and in like manner as is used in the city of London upon bakers and such other offenders. And moreover we will—&c.—that the steward, marshal, clerk of the market of our household, our heirs and successors, henceforth do not sit within the liberties of the said city, nor exercise their offices there, nor do any thing within the said liberties which belong to their offices, nor any way draw any citizens or inhabitants of the said city, or any person residing in the liberty thereof, to plead out of the liberty of the said city for any matters arising or to arise within the said city. And further, out of our greater grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens, and their successors, that from henceforth for ever, the mayor of the city, for the time being, shall and may have power and authority to take all manner of recognizances of debts and executions to be made thereupon, to do, execute, and exercise all things which belong to the recognizances of debts, according to the form of the statute of merchants of Acton Burnett, lately made. And that from henceforth for ever, there shall and may be a clerk in the said city to serve for such recognizances or statutes there, according to the form of the said statute of Acton Burnett. And the said clerk shall be from time to time chosen, assigned and nominated

nated by the common-council of the said city for the time being, or the major part of them—and he may have, hold, and exercise the said office after he hath been sworn before the mayor for the time being, so long as he shall behave himself well in the same, and that the mayor have the seal serving the said office. We have granted—&c.—that all and every the coroners, constables, chamberlains, and all other officers of the said city, hereafter to be chosen, shall be for the future chosen at the same time and in the same manner and form as lately they, or either of them, have been wont to be chosen, created and made; so that if any coroner, or other officer of the said city, after he or they have been chosen, shall die within a year after his or their election, or shall be removed for any cause from the said office, then the mayor for the same time being, within twenty days after the remove or death of any such officer next following, may choose as hath been usually one other, two, or more of the citizens of the said city, in the place of him or them so dead or removed, as often as need shall require, without any leave from us, our heirs and successors, first had or obtained—and that he so elected and preferred, shall have and exercise the said office, during the residue of the said year he first taking his corporal oath for the good and faithfully executing the said office in the form aforesaid. And further, of the same our grace, and for the consideration aforesaid, we have granted and given leave, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, as much as in us lies, do grant and give leave to all our subjects and liege people, and to every body corporate and politick, that they, or any of them, may or can give, grant, sell, alienate, or bequeath to the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the said city, and their successors, for ever, lawfully and without blame, all messuages, lands, tenements, reversions, services, or other possessions or hereditaments whatsoever. And we grant also special licence by these presents, to the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens, and their successors, that they may and shall lawfully and without blame, hereafter have, receive, and obtain,

obtain for them and their successors for ever, such messuages, lands, tenements, revenues, reversions, services and hereditaments of all our subjects and liege people, and of every body corporate and politick whatsoever, or any of them, and that without any writ of ad quod damnum or any other writ whatsoever, to be had, obtained or prosecuted for the same, from us, our heirs and successors. Also we have granted in like manner and given licence, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do grant and give licence, as much as in us lies, to all our subjects and liege people, and to every body corporate and politick, that they or any of them, may lawfully give, grant, sell, alienate, bequeath, or legace any messuages, lands, tenements, revenues, reversions or hereditaments whatsoever, without the said city of Chichester, wheresoever it shall be in our kingdom of England, to the yearly value of two hundred marks to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the said city, and their successors for ever. And we do in like manner grant and give special licence to the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens, and their successors, that they shall and may lawfully without blame hereafter, receive and take such messuages, lands, reversions, services and hereditaments whatsoever, of all our subjects and liege people, and of any body corporate or politick, or any of them, and that without any writ ad quod damnum, or any other writ or warrant whatsoever to be had, obtained, or sued out of the same, any way for us, our heirs and successors, notwithstanding the statute of Mortmain, or any other act, statute, ordinance, law, provision, prohibition, or restriction, heretofore had, made, ordained, and provided, or any other matter, cause or thing, to the contrary hereof notwithstanding. And further, of our greater grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant, restore and confirm to the said mayor, aldermen, and citizens, and their successors, such and so many of the manors, messuages, lands, merchants' guilds, and all other guilds, ports of Undering and Horemouth,

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all and singular fares, tolls, petty-customs, anchorage, keglidge, measurage, customs, liberties, privileges, franchises, immunities, exemptions, quittances, rights, profits, powers, jurisdictions, as well by land as by sea, goods, chattels, debts, credit, as well real as personal, advantages, emoluments and hereditaments whatsoever, which the citizens of the said city, or the late mayor, aldermen and citizens of the said city, or the mayor, or bayliff and community of the said city, or any or either of them, by what name or names soever, or by what incorporation or pretence of any corporation whatsoever, which they heretofore had, held, used, and enjoyed, or ought to have had, used and enjoyed, by reason or pretence of any charters, grants or letters patents, by us, or our lord James the first, late king of England, or any of our progenitors, late kings, and queens of this our kingdom of England, any way heretofore made, confirmed, and granted, or by any other lawful way, usage, prescriptions, or title, in as ample manner and form as if in these presents they had been particularly, and severally specified, and expressed, any statute, ordinance, or restriction, to the contrary hereof, in any way notwithstanding, yet nevertheless under the limitations and restrictions aforesaid, and the rents and services to us therefore due and payable. We will moreover, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen and citizens, and their successors, that this our present charter, so generally made to them, shall and may be, in all and every thing of the same force and effect as if all and every the aforementioned things were more specially, legally, and particularly expressed and specified in our said charter, and that it be understood, judged and determined, to the greater favour and benefit of the said mayor, aldermen and citizens, and their successors, against us, our heirs and successors, as it may be best known and understood, notwithstanding any omission, contradiction, contrariety, defect, or other matter or cause whatsoever. And also of our greater grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion;

tion, we have pardoned, remised, released, and quit claimed, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, we do pardon, remise, release, and quit-claim to the aforesaid mayor, aldermen and citizens, and the late mayor, aldermen and citizens, and their predecessors, all and all manner of actions and suits whatsoever, of quo warrantoes, also all and singular other non-uses, abuses, forfeitures, usurpations, intrusions, and unjust claims whatsoever, of liberties, franchises, jurisdictions, lands, tenements and hereditements whatsoever, done, made, proclaimed, used, had, or committed by the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the said city, or by any other name or names, or by any other incorporation, or pretence of any corporation whatsoever, before the date of these presents—and of all and all manner of fines, amerciaments, mulcts, and other forfeitures by reason of such usurpation, intrusions, non-use, abuse, or unjust claim, and that they and every of them, may and shall be from that quit and discharged by us, our heirs, and successors for ever, not willing that they or either of them, by reason of the premisses, should be molested or vexed in any thing, by us, our heirs or successors, or justices, sheriffs, or ministers whatsoever. Provided always, and we declare our royal will and pleasure, that the mayor, aldermen, justices, officers, ministers, and citizens of the said city, and their successors, shall no way have and exercise any authority or jurisdiction within the cathedral-church of the Holy Trinity of Chichester, nor within the Close of the said church, but that the said church be in all things free, as well in their persons as houses and lands, within the Close aforesaid, from the authority and jurisdiction of the said city, to God's glory and service, although that express mention be no ways made in these presents, of the true yearly value or the certainty of the premises, or any of them, or of any other gifts and grants by us or any of our progenitors or predecessors, heretofore made to the mayor, aldermen and citizens of the said city, or any other statute, act, or ordinance, proclamation, provision or restriction heretofore made, had, used, ordained,

ordained, and provided, or any other cause, matter, or thing whatsoever, in any ways notwithstanding. In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents—Witness ourselves at Westminster, the twenty seventh day of March, in the first year of our reign. By writ from the privy-seal for fine in the Hanaper-office, 3l. 6s. 8d.

PIGGOTT and GUILFORD.

The following Particulars having been overlooked in the proper place, that they may not be omitted entirely, are inserted here.

IN the Domesday-book we are informed that the antient annual rental of Chichester was 15l.—10l. to the king, and 5l. to the earl. “At the present time (says the record) the estimate is 25l. and the produce 35l.”—and we may fairly conclude that they did not let it under that sum. What part thereof went to the earl is not said: but whatever it was, it was forfeited to the king (Henry I.) by Robert de Belesmè, the last earl of Chichester, of the Montgomery family. From the eleventh to the sixteenth year (inclusive) of Henry III. the city was in the hands of the king’s brother, Richard earl of Cornwall: at which time, or soon after, it was restored to John Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel, together with his other honours and estates. What time the fee-ferm, or rent, was demised or granted to the citizens is not certainly known: it is very probable that it was in the reign of king John; for early in that of his successor, Henry III. we find that Chichester paid annually 38l. 10s. by half-yearly payments, to the sheriff, Herbert fili: Walteri.* It continued in the hands of the citizens during

T T

the

* Mag. Rot. 15. Hen. III, titulo Sudsex.

the reigns of Edward III. Richard II. Henry IV. Henry VI. and other succeeding kings, a little reduced, namely at 36l. per ann. (Madox Firm: Burg: p. 13, and var: loc.)

By a careful examination of the boroughs in England in the Domesday-book, it appears that the average rent of a house at that time, in the southern division, was not more than ten pence a year. If we suppose that those in Chichester let, one with another, at a shilling a year—that twenty shillings made a pound, and that the number of all of them was four hundred; on deducting the manor houses (126, which have no right to be reckoned in that account) the remainder will be 274, and the produce only 13l. 14s. (at the highest calculation) leaving a deficiency of 24l. 16s. of the rental at which the city was valued. There can be no doubt but the harbour, ports, and customs of the place, were included in the valuation: whether these were equal to that sum, I take not upon me to determine; but find nothing else that can be brought forward to enable us to solve the difficulty.

In the twenty-second and twenty-third of Charles II. an act of parliament was passed for vesting the fee-ferm of this and other boroughs mentioned therein, in the hands of trustees, for the sale of the same.

A few years ago (not more than six or seven) the corporation bought of lord Feversham the fee-ferm of 3l. 19s. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ per annum, for 110l. nearly at twenty-eight years purchase. The whole is now bought up, except the small sum of 2l. 13s. 7d. a year which they pay to Mrs. Tempest.



In the year 1394 (eighteenth of king Richard II.) John Felix, bailiff of Chichester, was amerced 13s. 4d. for not attending at the sessions of the peace to do his office. For the recovery of which fine, a summons was issued from the exchequer to the sheriff, Nicholas Slyfeld: on the return of which the said sheriff declared upon his oath that John Felix had no lands or tenements whereon.

whereon the debt might be levied. On which the barons, considering that as the said John Felix himself was insolvent, and the king ought not to lose his due, the inhabitants (incolæ) of Chichester, who had chosen the said John into that office, ought to pay the fine aforesaid: whereupon they awarded a writ of scire facias to warn the citizens (cives) of Chichester to appear at the exchequer to shew cause why, &c.—Upon this writ the sheriff (Edwardus Seint Johannes) returned that he had warned John Castell and Thomas Pacchyng to appear before the court of exchequer to propose and do as the said writ required. They, the said John and Thomas did not appear—whereupon the court gave judgment—"That the said John Castell and Thomas Pacchyng, be charged to the king with the said debt." See Madox de firm. Burgi p. 187.



Four miles north-west of Chichester is West-Stoke, the pleasant residence of the right honourable lord George Lennox, who represented this county in three parliaments, to the year 1790.

A small distance from which, and five miles almost north of Chichester, is West-Dean, the seat of the right honourable lord Selsea. In the twenty-sixth of Edward I. A. D. 1298, Gilbert Pecche (baron) was summonsed to attend the king at Carlisle, "cum equis et armis."—In the eighth of Henry VI. (1430) John Peach, esquire, was sheriff of Kent at the time that Perkin Warbeck landed at Sandwich. He was attacked by the sheriff, routed, and forced to fly: 150 of his followers were taken and sent to London, by this valiant and vigilant magistrate, who was knighted on the occasion—"many of them were hung there (London,) and the rest of them on the coasts of Kent, and the neighbouring counties." (See Stowe's Annals, p. 480.) I have not the least doubt but lord Selsea is descended from this man of Kent, though their names are spelled differently.

There

There is in the vicarage garden at Bosham, at this day, a marble relick of great antiquity: It goes by the name of Beavois's head; but that is an error. It never was designed as such. Its barbarous sculpture, and want of proportion, shew it to be of German manufacture. It appears to have been a Thor—the Jupiter of the antient pagan Saxons; and it may be was brought there by the adventurers who accompanied Ella, or those who followed him after he had reduced this part of the country.

CONCLUSION.

If any indulgent reader has travelled with me so far over a very extensive, and sometimes a sterile plain, without being weary of his guide; let me enjoy the satisfaction of thinking I shall induce him to smile at our parting, by closing my Appendix with an Epigram written by the late residentiary Mr. Clarke,* upon the Latin words inscribed on the Richmond vault, in the cathedral. I insert it not only because it relates to Chichester, but because it is generally esteemed one of the best epigrams in our language, and, what is rare indeed in an epigram, it is equally admirable for its wit and its piety.

 THE INSCRIPTION.

“*Domus Ultima.*”—*The Last House.*

“ Did he, who thus inscrib'd the wall,
 Not read, or not believe saint Paul?
 Who says there is—where'er it stands,
 Another house—not built with hands.
 Or may we gather from these words,
 That house is not a House of Lords?”

* Vide Kippis's Life of Mr. Clarke, in Biogr. Britan, Vol. III. p. 619.



Parochiale Sussexianum :

OR,

AN ACCOUNT

OF

A L L T H E P A R I S H E S

IN THE

DIOCESE of CHICHESTER ;

With the **VALUE** of each in the **KING's BOOKS ;**

PATRONS,

Dedications, Appropriations, &c.

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

ARCHDEACONRY of CHICHESTER.

DEANRY OF CHICHESTER.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>			<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£.	s.	d.	St. Peter's the Great, alias the Subdeanry—V.	Dean and Chapter	.....	Discharged
16	8	4	St. Andrew's—R.	The same	.....	Discharged
4	13	4	St. Martin's—R.	The same	.....	Discharged
1	6	8	St. Olave's—R.	The same	.....	Discharged
4	18	9	St. Peter's the Less—R.	The same	.....	Discharged
1	6	8	St. Mary's	Destroyed	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	St. Bartholomew's	G. W. Thomas, esquire	Demolished	.....
8	10	10	St. Pancras	Mr. W. Dearing	.....	Discharged
5	10	0	Fishbourne—R. (no Inst.)	The Crown	Abbey of Syon	Charge
4	0	0	Whyke, R. St. Rumbold	Dean and Chapter	.....	Discharged

This entire Deanry is under the Dean's peculiar Jurisdiction.

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

DEANRY OF ARUNDEL.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>			<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Living.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£.	s.	d.	Arundel—Holy Trinity—V.	Duke of Norfolk	College of Arundel	Discharged
5	0	10	Houghton Capella	.....	.....	Discharged
7	5	7½	Amberley—V.	Bishop of Chichester	Church of Chichester	Charged
15	9	2	Angmering East—St. Peter—R.	Sir Cicil Bishop	Abbey of Sion	Charged
6	0	0	Angmering West, St. Margaret, V.	The same	Priory of Boxgrove	Discharged
7	15	0	Barnham, alias Bernhill, Mary, C.	Pri. Boxgrove Imp.	.....	Discharged
5	17	8½	Binstead—St. Mary—R.	.....	Church of Chichester	Discharged
7	12	6	Burgham alias Burpham, Mary, V.	Dean and Chapter	Prebendary of Bury, in Chichester Cathedral	Discharged
7	5	5	Bury—V.	Bishop of Chichester	.....	Discharged
14	0	0	Clapham—R.	Sir John Stelley	.....	Discharged
9	11	0½	Clymping—V.	Eton College	College of Eton	Charged
1	8	6½	Cudlaw—R.	Eccles. destructa	.....	.....
19	15	10	Felpham—St. Mary—R. and V.	Dean and Chapter	The R. of the Sine Cure	Charged
9	10	10	Ferring—St. Andrew—V.	Prebend of Ferring in	Church of Chichester	Discharged
6	8	4				

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>	<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
f. s. d. 9 6 8 7 19 9½ 9 1 3 6 9 2 5 10 10 5 14 4½ 10 0 0 6 0 0 11 15 10 10 9 2 7 11 0½	Ford—R. Gates, alias Eastergate, St. G. R. Hampton parva, St. Mary—C. Leomister, alias Lymster, St. Mary Magdalen—V. Madhurst, St. Mary Magdalen, V. Middleton—R. North-stoke—C. (no Inst.) Poling—V. Rustington—V. South Stoke—R. Tortington—V. Wallberton—St. Mary—V. Yapton—V.	Bishop of Chichester Dean and Chapter Bishop of Chichester Eton College presents and the Bishop nominates Sir George Thomas, bart. The Crown The King Bp. nom. and E. C. pre. Bishop of Chichester Earl of Surry Duke of Norfolk Bishop of Chichester The same	..... ..... See of Chichester Eton College olim. Leomister Pri. Priory of Tortington Priory of Tortington E. Col. olim Leomister P. Priory of Tortington Priory of Boxgrove College of Arundel	Discharged Charged Discharged Charged Discharged Discharged Charged Discharged Discharged Charged Discharged Discharged Discharged

DEANRY OF BOXGROVE.

10 5 10 10 0 10	Aldingbourn—St. Mary—V. Appledram—St. Mary—C. Birdham—R.	Dean of Chichester Dean and Chapter	Deanry of Chichester College of Bosham	Charged Discharged Charged
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PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>		<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£.	s. d.	*Bosham—Holy Trinity—V.	Dean and Chapter	College of Bosciam	Ch. to Bp.
6	11 3	Chidham—V.	Mr. Barwell	The same	Ch. to Bp.
10	19 2	Compton, St. Mary, cum Up-	The same	Knights Templars	Charged
13	6 8	Marden—V.			
9	5 5	Boxgrove, St. Blaze—V.	Duke of Richmond	Priory of Boxgrove	Charged
9	10 5	Donnington—V.	Bishop of Chichester	Abbey of Hyde	Charged
7	6 0½	Ernly, cum Almodington	Bp. of Chichester 2 turns	.....	Charged
7	5 2½	Eartham—V.	Duke of Norfolk 1 turn	.....	Charged
5	4 4½	East-Dean—R.	Prefendary of Earham	Chichester Cathedral	Ch. to Bp.
4	16 8	East-Marden—V.	Mr. Bethel	.....	Ch. to Bp.
6	16 8	East-Wittering—R.	Prefendary of Marden	.....	Ch. to Bp.
.....	.....	Funtington—C.	Bishop of Chichester	.....	Discharged
7	4 7	Hamptonet, St. Peter—V.	Dean and Chapter	College of Bosciam	Ch. to Bp.
9	4 7	Hunston, St. Leodegar—V.	Impro. of Boxgrove	Priory of Boxgrove	Charged
.....	.....	Mid-Lavant—C.	— Brereton, esquire	The same	.....
7	4 7	Merston—R.	Impro. of Mid-Lavant	Priory of Shulbred	Charged
6	17 8½	North-Marden—R.	The Crown	.....	Ch. to Bp.
			— Phipps, esquire	.....

* Bosciam College consisted of five Prebends well endowed. — Vide Lib. Regis.

PAROCHIAE SUSSEXIANUM

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>		<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£. D. S.		North-Mundham—V.	— Brereton, esquire	Priory of Boxgrove	Ch. to Bp.
9 0 10		Oving—V.	Præcentor of Chichester	Præcentorship of Chichester.	Charged
10 11 10½		Racton cum Lordington—R.	Dean and Chapter	.....	Ch. to Bp.
5 19 2		Selsea, St. Peter—R. and V.	Bishop of Chichester	.....	Charged
11 3 4	}	Singleton—R.—and West-Dean	Duke of Richmond and	.....	Ch. to Bp.
8 0 0		Stoughton, St. Mary—V.	Dean and Chapter	.....	Ch. to Bp.
6 10 4		Sidlesham—V.	Bishop of Chichester	Church of Chichester	Ch. to Bp.
8 10 0		West-Thorney—R.	Prebend of Sidlesham in	Chichester Cathedral	Charged
7 10 10		Westbourn, St. John Bap.—R.	Mr. Willis	.....	Charged
10 8 4		and V.	Mr. Tattersal and Rector	.....	Ch. to Bp.
24 13 4		West-Dean, St. Andrew—V.	of the Sinecure	Præcentorship of Chichester.	Ch. to Bp.
10 10 5		West-Itchenor, St. Nicholas—R.	Dean and Chapter	.....	Ch. to Bp.
6 12 0		Waltham—R.	The Crown	.....	Ch. to Bp.
6 14 2		West-Stoke—R.	John Luther, esq. 1776	.....	Ch. to Bp.
6 2 11		West-Wittering—V.	The Crown	.....	Ch. to Bp.
9 11 10½			Prebend of West-Wittering,	Chichester Cathedral	Ch. to Bp.
10 3 4					

The Tenths of all the Livings in the above Deanry are payable to the Bishop.

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

DEANRY OF MIDHURST.

The Tenths payable to the Bishop.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>		<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£.	s. d.	Bepton—R.	— Pointz, esquire	.....	Charged
8	0 0	Bignor—R.	The Crown	.....	Charged
8	3 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Bodecton—R.—cum Cootes	Earl of Egremont	.....	Ch. to Bp.
7	13 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	Barlavington—R.	The same	.....	Ch. to Bp.
5	13 4	Cocking—V.	Bishop of Chichester	.....	Charged
13	6 8	Eastbourne—V.	— Pointz, esquire	College of Arundel	Charged
6	6 8	Midhurst, St. Mary Magdalen,	— Pointz, esquire	Priory of Eastbourne	Charged
.....	.....	Cap. sive Cur.	.....	.....	.....
1	9 2	Eggidean, alias Bleatham—R.	Earl of Egremont	.....	Ch. to Bp.
11	13 4	Eisted—R.	Lord Selsea	.....	Charged
6	13 4	Fittleworth—V.	Bishop of Chichester	.....	Charged
.....	.....	Farnhurst—C.	— Pointz, esquire	Prebend of Fittleworth	.....
9	10 4	Grafham, St. Giles—R.	Mr. Bidulph	Priory of Eastbourne	.....
26	13 4	Harting, R. and V. St. Mary	Sir H. Featherston, and the R. of the Sinecure	.....	Charged
9	0 0	Hardham, R. St. Botolph	Sir H. Goring, baronet	.....	Charged
5	5 10			.....	Ch. to Bp.

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>			<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£.	s.	d.	Iping, R. cum Chithurst Cap.	Earl of Egremont	.....	Charged
.....
11	0	0	Kirdford—V.	Mr. Barwell	College of Arundel	Charged
.....	.....	.....	Linchmere—C.	.....	Priory of Shulbred	.....
3	12	8½	Linch—R.	— Pointz, esquire	Priory of Eastbourne	Ch. to Bp.
8	0	0	Ludgarshall—R.	Mr. Farhill	.....	Charged
41	10	5	Petworth, St. Mary	Earl of Egremont in 1783	.....	Charged
.....	.....	.....	Duncton—R. } Olim Cap.	D. of Northum. in 1773	.....	Charged
.....	.....	.....	North-Chapel—R. } to Petworth	The same in 1771	.....	.....
10	5	0	Rogate, V. St. Bartholomew	The Crown	Priory of Duford	Ch. to Bp.
17	8	6½	Stedham—R.—cum }	Lord Selsey	.....	Charged
.....	.....	.....	Heyshot cap.	The same	.....	Charged
15	0	10	Sutton, R. St. John	Earl of Egremont	.....	Charged
4	16	0½	Selham, R. St. James	Brazen-nose Col. Oxon.	.....	Ch. to Bp.
5	12	8½	Stopham, R.—St. Mary	Eliz. Bartelott, 1765	.....	Ch. to Bp.
5	0	5	Tirwick—R.	.....	.....	Ch. to Bp.
13	10	0	Tillington—R.	Earl of Egremont	.....	Charged
7	12	1	Treford, R.—cum Didling	Lord Selsey	.....	Charged
9	0	0	Trotton, R. St. George, cum Tuxith Capella.	John Radcliff, esq. 1782	.....	Charged

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>		<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
<i>£.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>				
.....	.....	Cold Waltham—C.	Bishop of Chichester	College of Bosciam	.....
7	0 10	Woolbeding—R.	Sir C. Mills—1782	.....	Charged
9	0 0	Woollavington—R.	— Bethel, esquire	.....	Charged
DEANRY OF STORRINGTON.					
.....	.....	Ashurst, R.—olim Capella to Steyning	Earl of Thanet	.....	Discharged
8	5 8	Ashington, R. St. Peter and St. Paul—cum Buncton	Revd. Mr. Clough	.....	Charged
10	6 0	Bramber, R. St. Nicholas—cum Botolph	Magdalen College	.....	Discharged
9	6 0½	Billinghurst, V. St. Mary	Sir H. Goring, baronet	College of Arundel	Charged
36	0 0	Broadwater, R.—St. Mary	The same	.....	Charged
.....	.....	Worthing Cap.	The same	.....	.....
12	16 10½	West-Chiltington—R.	Lord Abergavenny	.....	Charged
10	0 2½	Combes—R.	Sir John Shelly	.....	Charged
13	3 9	Findon—V.	Magdalen Col. Oxen.	Magdalen College	Discharged
7	10 0	Goring—V.	W. W. Richardson, esq.	College of Arundel	Discharged

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

<i>Value in the King's Boors.</i>		<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£.	s. d.	Green, alias Wisborough Green, St. Peter, V. cum Loxwood cap.	Prebend. of Wisborough	Chichester Cathedral	Discharged
9	18 4	Hotsham, V. St. Mary	Archbp. of Canterbury	Priory of Rusper	Charged
25	0 0	Itchingfield, R.—St. Nicholas	— Tredcroft, esq.	.....	Charged
8	0 0	Launcing—V.	Bishop of Lincoln	Priory of Eringham	Discharged
6	9 4½	Nuthurst, St. Andrew—R.	Bishop of Chichester	.....	Charged
10	0 0	Parham, St. Peter—R.	Sir C. Bishop	.....	Discharged
10	0 0	Pulborough, St. Mary—R.	Earl of Egremont	.....	Charged
19	0 7½	Ridgwick, R. and V.—Holy Trinity	Bishop of Chichester	Chantry of Ridgwick	Charged
13	2 6	Rusper, St. Mary—R.	Mr. Wood, 1743	....	Charged
7	10 0	Slinfold, R. and V.—St. Peter	Bishop of Chichester	R. of the Sinecure	Charged
9	10 10	Steyning, V.—St. Cudman	Sir J. Honeywood	Abby of Sion	Charged
5	6 8	Shepley—C.	Lord Selsey	Knights Templars	.....
7	7 6	Sumpting, V.—Cockham Cap.	Mr. Crofts	The same	Discharged
15	0 0	Storrington, R.—St. Mary	Mr. Barwell	.....	Charged
.....	.....	Sullington, R.—St. Mary	— Tredcroft, esquire	.....	Charged
8	7 1	Thakeham, R.—Ditto	Revd. R. Clough	.....	Charged
18	0 0	Warnham, V.—Ditto	Chapt. of Canterbury	Pri. of Christ Ch. Canter.	Charged
12	17. 6				
14	9 9				
10	10 2½				

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>		<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£.	s. d.	Washington—V.	Magd. Coll. Oxon.	Magdalen College	Discharged
25	17	Westgrinsted, St. George	Henry Humphry and S. Blunt, 1759	.....	Charged
7	4	Wighnholt, R. cum Greatham	W. Turner, gent. 1770	.....	Charged
12	13	Wiston, R.—St. Mary	Earl of Thanet	Mag. Coll. Oxon.	Charged

Finis Archidiaconatus Cicest.

Total of Churches and Chapels in this account 150, but some ruined.

ARCHDEACONRY of LEWES.

DEANRY OF DALLINGTON.

8	13	Ashburnham, V.—St. James	Dean and Chap. of Can.	Priory of Hastings	Charged
24	13	Battle, V.—St. Mary	Sir G. Webster, baronet	Abbey of Battle	Charged
11	6	Beckley, R.—All Saints	.....	.....	Charged
24	10	Bexhill, V.—St. Peter	Bishop of Chichester	.....	Charged
6	18	Bodham, V.—St. Giles	Sir G. Webster, baronet	College of Hastings	Charged
12	10	Brede, R.—St. Mary	.....	.....	Charged

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>			<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Living.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£.	s.	d.	Burghwash, R. and V.—St. James	Lord Pelham and R. of the Sine Cure	.....	Charged
18	0	0	Catsfield, R.—St. Lawrence	Lord Ashburnham	.....	Charged
8	10	0	Crowhurst, R.—St. George	Lord Pelham	.....	Charged
7	9	4	Dallington, V.—St. Margaret	Lord Ashburnham	Priory of Hastings	Charged
10	0	0	Echingham—R.	Sir John Lade, baronet	.....	Charged
8	0	0	Ewhurst, R.—St. James	Sir G. Webster, baronet	.....	Charged
11	0	0	Hoo, V.—St. James	The same	.....	Charged
12	2	6	Hethfield, V.—All Saints	Prebendary of Heathfield	College of Hastings	Charged
7	2	6	Hirstmonceux, R.—All Saints	— Hare Naylor, esquire	Chichester Cathedral	Charged
10	0	0	Iden, R.—All Saints	— Lamb, esquire	.....	Charged
20	0	0	Mounfield, V.—All Saints	Duke of Dorset	.....	Charged
15	8	6½	Nenfield, V.—St. Mary	Lord Ashburnham	Priory of Robertsbridge	Discharged
4	13	4	Northingham, R.—St. Mary	C. Frewen, esquire, 1779	College of Hastings	Charged
8	0	0	Oddynore, V.—St. Mary	Lord G. H. Cavendish	.....	Charged
15	10	2½	Peasemars, V. Sts. Paul & Peter	Sidney College Camb.	Priory of Robertsbridge	Discharged
8	5	2½	Penhurst—R.	Lord Ashburnham	College of Hastings	Discharged
5	9	2	Playden, als. Saltcot, R. St. Mic.	.....	.....	Discharged
3	18	4	Salehurst V.—St. Mary	.....	.....	Discharged
12	0	0		.....	Priory of Robertsbridge or Hastings Col.	Charged
14	0	0		.....	

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

Value in the King's Books.		Names and Dedications.		Patrons of Livings.		Religious Houses, to which appropriated		First Fruits.	
£.	D. S.								
9	4	Sidlescomb—R.		The Crown		.....		Charged	
18	7	Tischurst, V.—St. Mary		Chapter of Canterbury		Pri. of Cht. Chur. Canter.		Charged	
7	4	Watlington—R.		Duke of Dorset		.....		Discharged	
13	6	Warblton, R.—St. Mary		Sir J. Lade, baronet		.....		Charged	
16	0	Wartling, V. St. Mary Magdalen		.....		.....		Charged	
		Boreham cap. desacret.							
11	6	Westfield, V. St. John Bap.		Bishop of Chichester		Abbey of Battle		Charged	

DEANRY OF HASTINGS.

11	0 0	Brightling, R. St. Tho. Becket	— Hayley, esquire	Charged	.....	Chantry Chap. of Leigh	Charged
6	9 2	Farleigh, V. St. Andrew	.....	Charged	.....	.....	Charged
12	0 7½	Guestling, R.—St. Andrew	Sir Ashburnham	Charged	.....	.....	Charged
8	4 7	Guildford East, R. St. Mary	— Margeson, esquire	Discharged	.....	.....	Discharged
8	9 2½	Hollington, V. St. Leonard	Sir C. Eversfield, 1784	Discharged	.....	College of Hastings	Discharged
19	2 11	Hastings, R.—All Saints	Sir G. Webster, baronet	Discharged	.....	.....	Discharged
23	6 10½	Hastings, R.—St. Clement	The same	Discharged	.....	.....	Discharged
13	1 8	Ikelsham, V. St. Nicholas	Chapter of Canterbury	Charged	.....	Abbey of Battle	Charged

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>		<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
<i>£.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>				
3	0	Oare, R.—St. Helen	.....	.....	Discharged
4	15	Pett, R.—Sts. Mary and Peter	The Bp. by lapse, 1774	.....	Charged
42	13	Rye, V.—St. Mary	Lord Cavendish	Abbey of Stanley C. Wilts.	Discharged
8	0	Winchelsea, R.—St. T. Becket	.....	.....	Discharged
2	6	Old Winchelsea	.....	.....	.....
DEANRY OF LEWES.					
7	14	Albourn, R.—St. Bartholomew	Sir H. Goring, baronet	.....	Charged
7	10	Aldrington—R.	.....	.....	Discharged
6	4	Blachington, R. St. Peter, united with Brighton	— Fermor, esquire	.....	Discharged
5	5	Bolney, V.—St. Mary Mag.	Prebendary of Hova Villa in Chichest. Cathedral	.....	Discharged
15	18	Balcomb, R.—St. Mary	Mr. Chatfield	.....	Charged.
18	10	Barcomb, R.—St. Mary	The Crown	.....	Charged
20	2	Brightelmston, V.—St. Nicholas	Bishop of Chichester	Priory of Lewes	Discharged
9	4	Chayleigh,—R.	Archbp. of Canterbury	.....	Charged
6	15	Chelley, R. St. Peter, cum Crowle	Sir ——— Gale	.....	Charged

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>		<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£.	s. d.				
21	0 10	Clayton, R.—St. John Baptist— Enmer, alias Kemer cap.	Brazen-nose Col. Oxon.	.....	Charged
.....	.....	•Crawley, R. St. John Baptist—	Sir L. Gale	.....	Charged
20	14 2	Cuckfield, V.—Holy Trinity	Bishop of Chichester	Priory of Lewes	Charged
10	6 8	Cowfold—V.	The same	Church of Chichester	Charged
11	0 0	Ditchling V.—St. Margaret	Chan. of Chichester Cath.	Chancellorship of Chich.	Discharged
19	5 6	Erthingley, als. Ardingley—R.	R. Clarke, esquire, 1757	.....	Charged
20	0, 0	East-Grinstead, V.—St. Swithin	Duke of Dorset	Priory of Lewes	Charged
6	10 10	Falmer—V.	Lord Pelham, 1771	The same	Discharged
16	12 8	Hamsey, R.—St. Peter	G. W. Lewis, esq. 1773	.....	Charged
11	14 2	Hangleton, R.—St. Helen	Duke of Dorset	.....	Discharged
9	16 0½	West-Hoadley—V.	The Crown	Priory of Lewes	Discharged
10	10 0	Henfield, V.—St. Peter	Bishop of Chichester	Church of Chichester	Charged
15	9 4½	Hurstpierpoint, R.—St. Lawrence	Sir E. Winnington, 1784	.....	Charged
6	8 4	Ifield, V.—St. Margaret	N. Spencer, esq. 1762	Priory of Ruper	Charged
10	10 2½	Iford, als. Iford, R.—St. Nicho.	.....	.....	Charged
12	19 2	Kingston Bowsey—R.	Sir Ch. Mill, bart. 1782.	.....	Charged.

• The same with Chelley mentioned before in this Deanry.

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>		<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious House, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£.	s. d.	Kingston juxta Lewes—V.	Impro. Lewes Pri.	Priory of Lewes	Charged
8	13	Lewes, R. All Saints	The King	.	Discharged
7	0	St. Anne's, R. cum Peter & Mary	The same	.....	Discharged
12	6	St. John's Southover—R.	The Crown	.....	Discharged
6	12	St. Mary's—R.	.....	.....	Charged
7	6	St. Michael's R.	.....	.....	Discharged
8	15	St. John's sub Castro—R.	John Crofts, esquire	.....	Charged
3	11	Miching, alias Newhaven, R.—	The Crown	.....	Discharged
8	3	St. Michael			
7	17	Newick, R.—St. Mary	Lady Vernon	.....	Charged
8	8	Newtimber, R.—St. John Evan.	N. Newnham, esq. 1774	.....	Charged
9	5	Ovingdean—R.	R. Rideout, esq. 1751	Priory of Lewes	Discharged
7	14	Pedinghoe—V.	Impro. Lewes Pri.	The same	Discharged
7	1	Petcham, V.—All Saints	The Crown	The same	Discharged
10	0	Plumpton—V.	— Hampton, esquire	.....	Charged
10	0	Poynings, R.—Holy Trinity	Sir H Goring	.....	Charged
8	18	Portslade, V.—St. Nicholas	The Crown	Priory of Bradsole	Discharged
20	2	Preston, V. St. Peter, cum Hova	Preb. of Hova in Chi. Ca.	.....	Discharged
15	8	Pycomb—R.	The Crown	.....	Charged
15	6	Radnell, R.—St. Peter	Bishop of Chichester	.....	Charged

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>		<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£.	s. d.				
9	10	0	Duke of Dorset	.....	Charged
4	19	4½	Rev'd. Mr. Challen	.....	Charged
10	19	3	— Sergison, esquire	.....	Charged
16	0	10	— Chatfield, esquire	.....	Charged
8	0	0	Magdalen Col. Oxen.	Mag. Coll.	Discharged
7	18	6½	The same	The same	Discharged
6	1	8	The same	The same	Discharged
9	14	2	The Crown	Knights Templars	Discharged
6	19	7	— Lane, esquire	.....	Discharged
10	15	5	Sir H. Goring, baronet	.....	Charged
13	13	4	T. Crew & J. Philpot 1779	.....	Discharged
22	4	2	J. Rideout Clerk, 1783	.....	Charged
13	1	10½	The Crown	.....	Charged
13	3	4	The Bishop—1784	.....	Charged
.....	.....	.....	.....	Priory of Lewes	.....
DEANRY OF PEVENSEY.					
11	16	0½	The Crown	.....	Discharged
6	0	0	D. and Ch. of Chichester	.....	Discharged

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>		<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£.	s. d.				
10	7 1	Arlington—V.	Prebendary of Woodhorn in Chichest. Cathed.	.....	Discharged
13	6 8	Berwick—R.	C. Gilbert and R. Hawes in 1784	.....	Charged
9	10 10	Bedingham—V.	Bishop and Chapter of Chichester by turns	Church of Chichester	Discharged
8	13 4	Bishopston—V.	Prebendary of Sidlesham in Chichest. Cathed.	.....	Discharged
14	0 0	Blachington, R.—St. Peter	R. Petley, esq. 1734	.....	Discharged
8	0 0	Chalton, R.—St. Bartholomew	— Fuller, esq. 1782	.....	Discharged
8	0 0	Chittingly—V.	Duke of Dorset	Chanc. of Chich. Cath.	Discharged
14	19 9½	Denton, R.—St. Leonard	— Jolliffe, esq. 1777	.....	Discharged
26	1 8	Eastbourn, V.—St. Mary	Treasurer of Chichester	Treasury of Chichester	Charged
7	6 3	East Hoathly—R.	Lord Abergavenny	.....	Charged
8	0 0	Eastdean, V.—cum Friston united	Dean and Chapter	Church of Chichester	Charged
13	6 8	Fletching, V.—St. Andrew	Duke of Dorset	Priory of Michelsham	Discharged
12	0 0	Folkington, alias Fointon, R. St. Peter	Duke of Dorset	.....	Discharged
7	0 0	Friston, V. united to Eastdean	Dean and Chapter	Church of Chichester	Charged

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>		<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£.	s. d.	Frant, alias Fant, C.—olim cap.	Rector of Rotherfield	.....	Charged
7	5 0	Hatfield, R. and V. united—St. Mary	Earl of Thanet	.....	Charged — R.
10	0 0	Hailsham, alias Haylsham, V.	Heirs of J. M. Fagge, esq.	.....	Discharged V.
16	6 8	Hellingley—V.	Duke of Newcastle	Priory of Beigham	Charged
6	16 8	Horsted keins—R.	T. Williams, esq. 1772	Priory of Shene	Charged
13	6 8	Horsted parva—R.	A. Nott, esq. 1784	.....	Charged
7	0 0	Hova, V. united to Preston—St. Andrew	Prebendary of Hova in Chichester Cathed.	.....	Charged
.....	.....	Jevington—R.	Lady E. Compton, 1781	.....	Discharged
20	0 0	Laughton—V.	Duke of Newcastle	Priory of Michelsham	Charged
9	11 3	Litlington—R.	J. Bean, gent. 1784	.....	Discharged
12	13 6½	Lullington—V.	Bishop of Chichester	Church of Chichester	Discharged
6	2 11	Maresfield, R. St. Bartholomew	Lord Gage	.....	Charged
12	0 0	Pevensey, V. St. Nicholas	Chancellor of Chichester	Chancellorship of Chich.	Charged
18	7 8½	Ratcliffe, R.—St. Dennis	Lord Abergavenny	.....	Charged
27	12 6	Rype, alias Heightington—R.	Duke of Dorset	....	Charged
10	10 0	Selmiston, V.—St. Mary	Prebendary of Heathfield in Chichest. Cathed.	.....	Charged
7	6 0½			.....	Discharged

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>		<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Living.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£.	s. d.	South Heighton, R. cum Tarring Neville	— Geere, gent. 1772	Vicarage of Tarring Neville	Charged
11	8 6½		Prebendary of Sutton in Chichester Cathedral	.....	.....
.....	.....	Sutton, V. eccles. destruct.	Preb. of Sutton two and Pre. of Seaford 1 turn	.....	Discharged
11	15 0	Seaford—St. Leonard capella	Duke of Dorset	South Heighton Rectory	Charged
7	0 0	Tarring Neville, R. with South Heighton	The same	.....	Charged
13	4 7	Waldern, alias Waldron—R.	Dean and Chapter	Preb. of Firls in Chich.	Charged
13	9 4	West-Firls—V.	Lady E. Compton, 1771	Priory of Wilmington	Charged
21	10 10	Westham—V.	Duke of Dorset	.....	Charged
25	5 5	Withiam, R.—St. Michael	— Harrison, esq. 1770	.....	Discharged
14	15 5	Westdean, R.—All Saints	Prebendary of Woodhorn	Church of Chichester	Discharged
12	0 0	Willington, V. united with Arlington	Lady E. Compton, 1779	Priory of Wilmington	Discharged
8	0 0	Willmington—V.			

Total of Churches and Chapels in the Archdeaconry of Lewes 152.

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

Churches and Chapels in the Diocese of Chichester which are in the peculiar jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

IN THE ARCHDEACONRY OF CHICHESTER.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>	<i>Names and Dedications.</i>		<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
£: s. d.					
5 17 6	All Saints, R. in the Pallant, in the deanry of Chichester		Archbishop of Canterbury	.....	Dis charged
DEANRY OF PAGHAM.					
7 18 9	Bersted, V.—Holy Cross		Archbishop of Canterbury	Pri. of Ch. Chur. Canter.	Charged
20 18 1½	East-Lavant, R.—St. Mary		Lord Willoughby de Brook	.....	Charged
9 18 9	Pagham, V.—St. T. Becket		Archbishop of Canterbury	Pri. of Ch. Chur. Canter.	Charged
11 13 4	Patching—R.		The same	.....	Charged
14 13 1½	Slindon, R.—St. Mary		Earl of Newburgh	.....	Charged
13 5 0	Tangmere, R.—St. Andrew		Duke of Richmond	.....	Charged
22 13 4	Terring, R. and V.		Archbishop of Canterbury	.....	Charged
8 13 4				.....	.....
.....	Durrington—Heene—capel. 2		.....	.....	.....
			Y Y		

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

ARCHDEACONRY of LEWES.

DEANRY OF SOUTH-MALLING.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>		<i>Names and Dedications.</i>	<i>Patrons of Livings.</i>	<i>Religious Houses, to which appropriated.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
<i>£.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	Bucksted, R. St. Margaret—Uckfield chapel	Archbishop of Canterbury	.....	Charged
37	5 2½	Cliff, R.—St. Thomas	The same	.....	Discharged
.....	.....	Edburton—R.	The same	.....	Charged
5	12 6	Frānfield—V.	Earl of Than et	College of South-Malling	Discharged
16	0 0	Glynde—V.	Archbishop of Canterbury	College of Windsor	Discharged
13	6 8	Isfield, alias Ifield, R.	The same	.....	Charged
5	1 0	Mayfield, V. St. Dunstan	J. Kirby, clerk, 1780	See of Canterbury	Charged
9	12 8½	Ringmere—V.	Archbishop of Canterbury	College of South-Malling	Charged
17	13 4	South-Malling, C. St. Michael	The same	The same	.....
13	0 0	Stannmere—R.	The same	The same	Charged
.....	.....	Wadhurst, V. Sts. Peter and Paul	Wadham Coll. Oxon.	See of Canterbury	.....
16	0 0				Charged
15	1 0½				Charged

End of the Peculiars in the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

The Names of the Dignities and Prebends of the Cathedral Church of Chichester,

With an Account of the Corps belonging to each of the former, and their Valuation, taken out of the Parliamentary Survey.

<i>Dignities and Prebends.</i>	<i>Corps belonging to each.</i>	<i>First Fruits.</i>
DEAN	<div> <div> { Deanry Farm—the Manor of St. Bartholomew, with the Rectory— Coledry-Farm—The Impropriation of Aldingbourn and Advow- son of the Vicarage. } </div> <div> } </div> </div>	<div> <div> £. S. D. 58 9 4½ </div> </div>
PRÆCENTOR.	<div> <div> { The Manor and Rectory of Oving, worth 270l. yearly—and the Copyholds for Lives are worth 160l. yearly. } </div> <div> } </div> </div>	<div> <div> 36 0 5 </div> </div>
CHANCELLOR.	<div> <div> { Pevensey Glebe and Tithes, 82l. yearly—The Manor and Rectory of Ditchling, 40l. yearly, Copyholds 13l. 10s. yearly. } </div> <div> } </div> </div>	<div> <div> 27 7 0 </div> </div>
TREASURER.	<div> <div> Worth 155l. 9s. 1d. said to be of greater value—Q. </div> </div>	<div> <div> 62 6 8 </div> </div>
ARCHDEACON OF CHICH.	<div> <div> Procurations and Indemnities 36l. 10s. in Inductions 2l. </div> </div>	<div> <div> 38 3 4 </div> </div>
ARCHDEACON OF LEWES.	<div> <div> Procurations 39l. 1s. 6d. Inductions 2l. 13s. 4d. the whole 41l. 14s. 10d. </div> </div>	<div> <div> 39 14 10 </div> </div>

All the above pay their First-Fruits to the Bishop.

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

The Prebends belonging to the Church of Chichester.

<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>			<i>Value in the King's Books.</i>		
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
11	17	6	Discharged		
16	13	4	4	6	8
13	6	8	10	0	0
13	6	8	4	15	0
10	2	8½	2	3	4
18	13	4	0	16	8
2	6	8	9	10	0
10	5	0	4	10	0
16	10	5	18	6	8
0	10	0	13	0	0
2	13	4	12	0	0
8	0	0	10	0	0
2	13	4	11	0	0
9	16	8	6	0	0
			20	0	0
			9	16	8
Barkham, alias Bracklesham			Highley, annexed to a Free-School.		
Bishopshurst			Pens. sol. Dec. & Cap. 1l. 11s. 6d.		
Bury—Pens. Vicar. de Bury annual			Hova Ecclesia Pens. sol. Vicar. de		
6l. 13s. 4d.			Preston—4l.		
*Bursalis			Hova Villa		
*Bargham—Pens. sol. Vicar. de			Mardon		
West-Angmering 1l. 13s. 4d.			Middleton		
Coleworth			Selford, alias Seaford		
Eartham			Selsea		
Exeit—Pens. sol. Abb. de Roberts-			Somerley		
bridge 5l.			Sutton		
Ferring—Pens. sol. Vicar. de Ferring			Sidlesham		
3l. 6s. 8d.			Thorney		
Firles			Upthorne, alias Ipthorne		
Fittleworth			Waltham		
Gates, alias Eastergate			Wisborough, alias Wisborough Green		
Hampstead			Wittering		
Heathfield			*Wyndham		

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

N. B.——The prebends of Ferring, Somerley, and Wisborough, pay first-fruits to the bishop——Llighthley is discharged. The other twenty-six pay to the crown receiver.

Bursalis, Bargham, Exeit, and Wyndham, were founded by bishop Shurborne, and by him appointed to be given, as they became void from time to time, to such persons as are, or have been members, or fellows, of either New College in Oxford, or of Wykeham College, Winchester.

The bishops of Chichester were formerly confessors to the queens of England—He retains his own tenths, and has the tenths of several other dignities and benefices within his diocese, by grant from the crown, in exchange of lands, as is supposed. The bishop, tempore H. 8. had the rectories of Amberley, Northmead, Houghton, Waltham, Bexhill, Henfield, Cowfold, and Bishopston; with the demesne lands of Cackham, Sidlesham, Selsea, Aldingbourne, Ferring, Stretham, Preston, Bishopston, Bexhill, &c.—Vide Liber Regis.

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

AN EXTRACT

From a book (now in the registry) written by John Swaine, register, in 1627—being a collection taken from, and a table or index of the archives of the bishop, and dean and chapter of Chichester, respecting the peculiar jurisdiction of the dean. And also a reference to, and extracts from the old register book, relating to the livings within the said peculiar jurisdiction. (to wit.)

<i>Names of the Livings.</i>	<i>Original Patrons.</i>	<i>The then Incumbents.</i>	<i>Clear Year. Values.</i>
Fishbourne, R.	The Crown	T. Boxal, A. M.	£. S. D. 5 10 0
Rumbold's Week, alias Week	Dean and Chapter	John Taylor	4 0 0
Blessed Mary in the Market of Chichester	Destroyed	.....	2 13 4
Subdeanry, or St. Peter the Great—V.	Dean and Chapter	John Payne, A. M.	16 8 4
St. Andrew—R.	Patron not named	Robert Johnson, B. D.	4 13 4
St. Martin—R.	Dean and Chapter Incipient. 1545	.....	1 6 8
St. Olave—R.	Patron not named	Robert Johnson, B. D.	4 18 9
St. Pancrass—R.	G. Oglander, gent.	John Lillyat, Ck,	8 10 10
St. Peter the Great, R. near Guildhall	The King, and Anthony Bishop of Chichester	John Guy, Ck.	4 8 6½
St. Peter the Less—R.	The same	.....	1 6 8

PAROCHIALE SUSSEXIANUM.

N. B. — On the 13th of January, 1597, William Laws was admitted upon the presentation of queen Elizabeth (plene jure) Lib. H. fo. 6, to the rectory of saint Peter, near guildhall, and saint Peter the Less, within the city of Chichester.

NOTE — On the 18th of May, fourth of Elizabeth, Thomas Carpenter, of Kingsham, gent. and Agnes his wife, granted to the dean and chapter of Chichester the next advowson to the rectory of saint Pancrass.



Seagrave, Printer, Chichester.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



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